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Falklands: crushing loss for common sense

The Falklands crisis seems to be heading inexorably to a dreadful climax, like a classical tragedy: full-scale war between Western countries that have traditionally been friends.

Britain and Argentina are fighting over a group of inhospitable islands in the South Atlantic whose population has declined from 3,000 to less than 1,800 in the past few decades.

Britain's bid to retake the islands could easily cost more lives than the normal population. War over the Falklands would be the most depressing event in the Western world for a long time.

Who is to blame? It's not as easy to say as many imagine. The first point that must be made is that both sides feel they are in the right.

The Argentinians point out that they have patiently negotiated with the British for 17 years without getting anywhere.

The British say they have not stubbornly insisted on retaining control of the islands for ever. To the last they have submitted compromise proposals the Argentinians have turned down.

It ill-behoves us to pass judgment on others.

The other, more important question is whether force of arms must always have the last word, especially as, in this case, the problem will by no means be solved even if Britain succeeds in retaking the islands.

Britain has long made it clear that it expects sooner or later to hand over the Falklands to Argentina. Besides, Whitehall cannot permanently station a naval task force in the South Atlantic to protect the islands.

That would be too expensive an option and it would lay bare Nato's northern flank. So retaking the Falklands would achieve no more than an improvement in the British position for fresh talks with Buenos Aires.

The problem extends further still. It goes without saying that there will always be international conflicts, but we really ought to settle them by other than military means.

If fighting over the Falklands continues it will only go to show yet again that arbitration procedures evolved this century are inadequate.

Despite the International Court of Justice in The Hague, and despite the United Nations and the UN Security Council, countries can still so easily resort to arms.

A war over the Falklands would first and foremost be a crushing defeat for common sense and failure of the international order.

One must even seriously wonder whether the Falklands crisis does not indicate that the international order is being undermined, as it was in the Cyprus conflict.

It has certainly dealt another severe blow to hopes of world affairs gradually evolving into home affairs, as it were, on an international basis.

There can be no question of countries growing steadily more used to the idea of acknowledging a higher authority that intervenes in disputes between them in the way that a police officer will separate two people fighting or a court will rule on a legal dispute between two individuals.

On the contrary, countries clearly feel justified once more in advocating by force of arms, or certainly on their own account, what they feel to be their right.

This reversion to anarchy in international ties is probably due in part to the loss of prestige the great powers have suffered, in this case the United States in particular.

It was no coincidence that the US government first felt obliged to mediate between London and Buenos Aires, and it was no coincidence that Secretary of State Haig failed in the attempt.

Unlike in the 50s and early 60s, the United States is no longer viewed by its friends and allies as a demigod whose judgment must be accepted.

It is characteristic that there has long been a quest for other arbiters whose authority is based on their *moral reputation rather than on their power.*

In the dispute between Argentina and Chile over the Beagle channel at the southernmost tip of South America the authority of no less a person than the Pope was appealed to, although one is bound to add that his peace bid was not an unqualified success.

At times, as on this occasion, reference has also been made to the UN Secretary-General. Here too the results have tended to be disappointing.

The Falklands has undeniably proved one point. It is that Europe, in its current state of neither integration nor disunity, is no substitute for such an international authority.

The prerequisites would by no means have been bad for mediation by Europe between the two sides, given that the Continent has close and cordial ties with both, albeit ties of different kinds.

But it was too tall an order for the European Community, and the EEC countries' behaviour in the Falklands crisis has been anything but impressive.

The spontaneous support for economic sanctions against Argentina to which the Common Market felt emboldened in the early days of the crisis was a gesture of solidarity with a fellow-member of the EEC.

But this gesture was promptly debased when the Continent gave Britain clearly to understand that in return it expected Whitehall to make concessions on EEC farm prices and Britain's net contribution to EEC funds.

What followed was even worse. It may have been right and necessary to override British objections to farm price increases sooner or later, but the timing of the decision to do so could hardly have been worse.

Given Britain's position with regard to the Falklands crisis, the decision by

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King Juan Carlos of Spain and Queen Sophia in Aachen where the king received the Charlemagne Prize from the city's mayor, Kurt Malangré (right). (Photo: dpa)

Juan Carlos drops in and picks up a prize

In terms of protocol the King and Queen of Spain were only on a private visit to Hamburg, but their hosts, Bonn Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and the city council of his home town, Hamburg, were bound to make the most of it.

The royal visit could help the ruling Social Democrats to win the 6 June council elections in Hamburg, which are extremely important for the Chancellor's party.

In recent weeks a number of high-ranking foreign visitors have paid the city visits, underscoring the international reputation enjoyed by the SPD council.

Kind Juan Carlos has emerged by dint of personal endeavour as a major factor in Spanish political affairs, maybe *the* major factor.

The Aachen Charlemagne Prize he collected before flying on to Hamburg is a sign of the high esteem in which he is held in Europe.

Spain's plans to join Nato and the EEC could well be to the advantage of democracy at home, and nothing would be more to Juan Carlos's liking.

Democratisation is, he feels, the only way in which his country can hope to face the challenges of the future.

This view is not shared by Franco's reactionary officer corps, which initially saw the King as no more than a figurehead behind which they could keep up business as usual.

It took his energetic intervention to thwart a military coup to show them they has misjudged him.

The trial of the officers involved in the attempted coup is dragging slowly on, and until sentence is passed Spain will be in a state of suspended animation, with the outcome undecided.

Will the state punish them or will it stop short at a clash, demonstrating impotence and weakness?

The prestige and respect enjoyed by Juan Carlos in friendly foreign countries could help him to gain acceptance of his ideas and heighten his political importance in Madrid.

Spanish democracy has as its arch-enemy not only Franco's generals but also the left-wing Basque separatist ETA terrorists. Both are blindly heading to their doom.

But the terrorists' assassinations and bomb raids could well so weaken the state that the brasshats are tempted to stage another, more successful coup.

(Der Tagesspiegel, 22 May 1982)

■ WORLD AFFAIRS

Reagan looks to make up for lost time on arms talks

President Reagan seems determined to make up for lost time in his bid to get strategic arms limitation talks with the Soviet Union going again in June.

He envisages the Start talks as reducing by a third, in the first stage of negotiations, the number of missile warheads currently held by the superpowers.

Has his proposal still come in time to achieve results? During his election campaign and on first taking over at the White House Mr Reagan failed to appreciate the advantages and rejected Salt 2.

The Salt 2 terms were very much in America's favour. They would have committed the Soviet Union to cut back its strategic potential now, before the changing of the guard in Moscow.

But President Reagan allowed himself to be dissuaded for too long by the hawks, who deliberately overrated Soviet military might, because of his ideological misgivings about all previous disarmament bids.

Is he still in a position with his Start proposal to put himself across to the peace movement in his own country, to his European allies at the Nato summit and, above all, to the mistrustful Soviet Union as a man who prefers an honest consensus to a policy of strength?

A Mr Brezhnev in poor health has lost no time in cabling to a medical congress in London that insuperable obstacles must immediately be placed in the way of nuclear war so as to ensure that the lights do not go out on earth.

"The Soviet Union," he said, "is prepared to reach the most radical agreements in this direction."

Did that amount to a grand invitation to reach a compromise after the Soviet Union had untiringly deployed one new missile system after another contrary to its protestations?

"Not every era finds its great man and not every great talent finds its era," wrote Jacob Burckhardt, the Swiss historian. "Very great men might exist right now for roles that are not required."

In recent years the boot has been on the other foot. There have been major issues that have failed to find their man.

Three objective prerequisites in particular might serve to limit the arms race and political confrontation.

First, economic pressure imposes an increasingly heavy burden on both superpowers. President Reagan has manoeuvred his 1983 budget into an unprecedented state of crisis.

The Senate finance committee has mercilessly picked at the bones of Mr Reagan's budget estimates, and the years ahead seem to hold forth the prospect of budget deficits totalling well over $100bn.

Last year the Soviet economy's growth rate stood at its lowest level since the October Revolution. Since 1979 the USSR has produced three per cent less food per annum. Grain imports this year are expected to reach the maximum level Soviet ports can handle.

Second, weapons technology and destructive capacity have reached such heights that US Secretary of State Haig and KGB boss Andropov have both seen fit to announce, to all intents and purposes, that although rivalry between the systems continued, it was limited by nuclear armament.

Third, both superpowers have prompted the emergence of peace movements at home by dint of propaganda exaggeration of the other side's nuclear potentials combined with record arms expenditure of their own.

Marshal Ogarkov, chief of the Soviet general staff, has taken to sounding a warning note about a growing trend toward pacifism amongst the young in the USSR.

Relations between Washington and Moscow have hardened to a state of cold war, and Soviet mistrust has increased beyond bounds. This being so, the Soviet Union as a land power is bound to view Mr Reagan's latest proposal as clearly weighted in America's favour.

The first stage he proposes would entail a unilateral reduction in the number of heavy land-based Soviet intercontinental ballistic missiles.

Yet the Kremlin has not rejected the proposal out of hand as it did President Carter's 1977 disarmament proposals.

It appreciates that Start marks a turning point for Mr Reagan, who by declaring himself willing to negotiate has abandoned the rigid doctrine of linkage between arms limitation and political good behaviour by Moscow.

If the Americans are honestly keen to seize the historic opportunity referred to by Mr Haig, they must now concentrate first and foremost on the forthcoming changing of the guard in the Kremlin.

This calls for two points to be seen as guidelines in future negotiations. First, no successor to Mr Brezhnev can shelve the aim of parity with America without jeopardising his own position. Second, the military and the arms build-up need not necessarily prevail.

On the past two occasions when power has changed hands in the Kremlin foreign affairs have been overshadowed by domestic disputes.

In 1953 Stalin's terror and his monstrous despotism had to have their edge blunted. In 1964 the issue was reconstruction of the CPSU, which Mr Khrushchev had split with his policy of trusting the masses.

This time the Kremlin will conduct the change-over with a much greater show of cohesion and routine, but Mr Brezhnev's successor will face a tough test of a different kind.

The Soviet leaders will have to choose between their inclination to pursue conservative policies and the pressure they are under to embark on economic innovations.

Any successor to Mr Brezhnev who aims at forestalling economic collapse and sounds out better means of doing so is bound to cross swords with the party generals.

Soviet military spending continues to be increased at an annual four per cent and is taking its toll of food the Soviet people might otherwise be able to eat.

Western claims that any new power group in the Kremlin would have no choice but to maintain the arms build-

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Doubts persist over latest Brezhnev plan

Informed opinion is doubtful about the soundness of Mr Brezhnev's latest proposal to halt the arms race, just like it was about his two previous proposals.

This time, the Soviet leader wants to freeze existing nuclear arsenals.

He had previously suggested putting a halt to Nato's missile system plans while the Geneva talks were continuing; and later a halt to the stationing of more SS20 missiles.

The latest proposal is probably partly directed at the peace movements. *But that is no reason for rejecting it out of hand*, as a purely tactical manoeuvre.

Unlike with the medium-range missiles where a freeze by Moscow would simply perpetuate Soviet supremacy, a freeze in the intercontinental sector would actually perpetuate a balance of power that even Washington admits exists.

American military experts estimate that each side now has about 7,000 nuclear warheads and their estimates are likely to be correct.

Brezhnev's latest initiative could be of tangible significance inasmuch as he wants to preserve the nuclear status quo for his own benefit.

The Soviets are well aware that they cannot keep pace with President Reagan's modernisation programme in the strategic weapons sector. And this threat to Moscow was probably a major reason that prompted Brezhnev to go along in principle with Reagan's initiative for a mutual reduction of the nuclear arsenal.

Views on the modernisation of the arsenal of terror in the United States can differ.

But they cannot differ on the fact that it is this modernisation that — as initially intended — has forced Moscow to agree to arms limitation talks.

Reagan's proposal in numerical terms is bound to be unacceptable to the Soviets because their missile systems are much less tightly "packed".

This would mean that if the Soviets had to scrap 2,500 warheads they would also have to scrap considerably more carrier systems than the USA.

The nightmarish sandbox games of the two superpowers concerning mutual first and second blow capacities would again sow uncertainty among the Soviets.

Wilfried Schäfer

(Rheinische Post, 19 May 1982)

McNamara nuclear proposal sets Nato tongues wagging

The suggestion by former US Defence Secretary Robert McNamara and three other prominent Americans that Nato drop its option of dealing the first nuclear blow has led to a heated discussion on strategy in both Nato military circles and among politicians.

The fact that the Nato foreign ministers rejected McNamara's proposal in Luxembourg has done nothing to end this discussion.

Egon Bahr, SPD detente expert, welcomed McNamara's suggestion on the grounds that it would relieve the Europeans of their fear of becoming the theatre of a limited nuclear war.

Horst Ehmke (SPD) was more cautious but he, too, called for an analysis of the idea.

Somewhat belatedly, Bonn Defence Minister Hans Apel rejected McNamara's proposal. He pointed to the danger that dropping this option would make the risk calculable for the Warsaw Pact and that Europe could thus become uncoupled from America's security risk.

What makes the arguments of the followers of the McNamara proposal so weak is that they disregard the fact that the former defence secretary has made his move depend on bolstering Nato's conventional potential to the point where this alone would guarantee Europe's defence.

In an article for the New York Times, Bahr mentions this in two sentences only; and Ehmke has also made only a brief reference to it. Yet this is the main problem.

The fact is that the USA and its European allies have long led a comfortable life under the nuclear shield.

They have considered the Soviet Union's supremacy in the conventional sector as acceptable in view of the clear nuclear supremacy of the West and the possibility of dealing the first nuclear blow.

Protected by this shield, the West Europeans have been able to keep their conventional forces at such a low level that they alone could never provide the necessary deterrent.

By deciding against a balance of power in the conventional sector, Bonn has been able to set aside enough money to streamline the economy and to build up its social security net.

It is at this point in the discussion that Egon Bahr's ideas come close to those of Kurt Biedenkopf who holds that the nuclear deterrence strategy is no longer capable of finding consensus.

Both politicians advocate change but neither of them says anything about the political and financial strains that would be caused by boosting the conventional deterrent at the expense of the nuclear one.

The European protagonists of the McNamara proposal cannot be relieved of the onus of stating how many troops the Bundeswehr and its allies would need, where they are to come from and how they are to be paid for.

Only once they are prepared to promote the inevitable shift from social security to defence spending and stand up for it in political terms will they become credible.

Volker Jacobi

(Saarbrücker Zeitung, 20 May 1982)

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■ HOME AFFAIRS

Coalition parties get back to a more amiable working arrangement

The coalition parties have changed their attitude towards one another. The question is whether this is just a change of tone or something more fundamental.

In contrast to their behaviour before, they are now treating each other with some consideration after problems have been thrashed out.

For example, Hans-Dietrich Genscher and Count Otto Lambsdorff have stopped haranguing SPD party congress resolutions on unemployment.

The relaxation comes after the Liberals received assurance from top SPD ranks that the Social Democrats, at least those in the cabinet, would not use Munich resolutions as a battering ram.

In fact, nobody talks any more about implementing the economic policies that enabled the delegates to the SPD congress in Munich to find their identity.

But once the party rank and file notices that their Munich effort was in vain and that little of that which the delegates had considered essential will even enter the decision-making processes, the peace will be shattered.

Surprisingly, the Social Democrats are more thick skinned at the moment than at any time since the autumn 1980 election. If they reacted as touchily now as during the past two years they would long have put Hans Matthöfer's successor, Manfred Lahnstein, on the carpet and stubbornly raised the SPD flag.

In any event, Schmidt's blue-eyed boy Lahnstein caused no outcries and counter-attacks when, with his usual terseness, he said that "it is most unlikely that we will manage fiscal 1983 without cutbacks in our social security system."

Yet all Bonn watchers had regarded this as the crucial breaking point in the coalition once the discussion on the 1983 budget got under way.

The fact that Lahnstein now announced such cutbacks unopposed shows that a major bone of contention among the coalition partners has been removed.

The Liberals, who naturally welcomed the new Finance Minister's statement, can now no longer maintain that the basic positions of the two parties are almost irreconcilable — provided, of course, the SPD regards Lahnstein's statement as binding.

As a result, there is now less likelihood of a break in the coalition than there was at the beginning of the year.

When it comes to detailed budgetary discussions and to thinning out the subsidies jungle, the Free Democrats will of course have to prepare themselves for counter demands by the SPD.

Cutbacks in the social benefits sector — as for instance study allowance — must be matched by similar prunings of subsidies that now benefit the business community.

But even optimists should not delude themselves into believing that the coalition has closed ranks again. This is still a long way off.

Meanwhile, both the SPD and FDP are still anxiously awaiting the outcome of the 6 June state election in Hamburg.

It is only natural that there is more unity on foreign policy issues than on the budgetary problems.

US President Reagan's proposal on the reduction of strategic arms was certainly not made only with a view to the peace movement in America but also with the European Nato members in mind.

He realises that the interests of America and Western Europe no longer coincide and that the public is conspicuously conscious of this difference.

This is what the highly regarded Institute for Strategic Studies in London meant when — somewhat oversimplified — it recently spoke of a trend toward a "third force" between the two nuclear superpowers.

It is, of course, wrong on the part of the London researchers to speak of "nostalgia" and a "renaissance of nationalism" in this connection.

But there can be no denying the fact that the ideas now prevailing in most European capitals boil down to the "two pillars theory" within Nato and the "ellipse theory" that was widely discussed in the Federal Republic of Germany in the 1960s.

Putting it into simple terms, this essentially amounts to an attempt on the part of Europe to achieve enough political independence to enable it to act not only as an interpreter between Europe, Washington and Moscow but also to exert a moderating influence on bilateral relations, despite the awareness of the necessity for America's nuclear shield.

This has nothing to do with nationalism but with national interests which the two superpowers will have to take into account if they are to make progress in their bid for arms control.

The European governments are much more adamant than the White House that such a policy must be accompanies by close cooperation in economic, technological and cultural fields.

This will play an important role at the Nato conference to be held in Bonn in June — and it is here that the coalition partners (especially the Chancellor and the foreign minister) are truly pulling in the same direction without the need to battle it out.

Thus foreign policy, which has always been the most reliable unifying element in the coalition, could again help to strengthen the shaky partnership.

But this would presuppose that Lahnstein's concession regarding the social security sector is not nullified by irate and disappointed Social Democrats and that the Liberals go along with cutbacks of subsidies even if this should hurt the business community.

Helmut Bauer

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 17 May 1982)

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up come what might disregard Russia's economic dilemma.

The key issues are the circumstances in which arms policy will enter into domestic disputes and the role the military will be in a position to play.

Will the changing of the guard in the Kremlin prove as serious a setback to the superpowers' arms control objectives as the past two changes of power in the White House have done?

A number of pointers may be deduced from Soviet history. The Deutschlandpolitik detente envisaged by Stalin in his final years was held up after his death by the power struggle between his successors.

Mr Khrushchev's detente drive in Bonn, which he sought to launch in 1964 with the spectacular visit to Germany by his son-in-law, Alexei Adzhubei, was likewise called off temporarily after his fall.

There have been two combinations of two men in power in the Kremlin since Stalin's death: Malenkov and Khrushchev and Brezhnev and Kosygin.

In both cases the government advocated more butter and the Party more guns. Premier Malenkov called for heavier investment in light industry and consumer goods, just as Premier Kosygin was later to do.

Party leader Khrushchev, like Mr Brezhnev, began by giving armaments preference.

There are many indications that the next changing of the guard in the Kremlin will be accompanied by a relatively restrained power struggle.

The Soviet Union is in such dire economic straits that the West stands a better chance of more effectively supporting future reformers along Hungarian lines than it was able to do in the days of Georgi Malenkov in 1953 and Alexei Kosygin in 1964.

The Start talks could be a step in the right direction, providing Mr Reagan abandons his pose as an anti-communist crusader and brings his Californian pragmatism into play.

Christian Schmidt-Häuer

(Die Zeit, 14 May 1982)

Germans living abroad are now entitled to vote

The Representation of the People Act has been amended to entitled Germans living in EEC countries to vote in Bundestag elections.

Those who live in countries further afield will retain their franchise for five years after leaving the Federal Republic of Germany.

At present neither have the vote in Germany. The Bonn Interior Ministry reckons 80,000 Germans live in EEC countries and 250,000 elsewhere abroad.

The system of proportional representation is also to be amended. The change relates to the way in which second votes count toward the number of seats a party is awarded.

In its 1980 coalition negotiations with the Social Democrats the FDP insisted on the system devised by a French mathematician, d'Hondt, being replaced by one devised by a German mathematician, Niemeyer.

The Niemeyer system benefits the smaller parties, such as the Free Democrats. If it had been used last time round the FDP would have one extra seat and the CDU/CSU one fewer.

It is already used in Hesse, Lower Saxony, the Saar and North Rhine-Westphalia. It was used in pre-war Reichstag elections too.

For a while it has been used by mutual agreement in deciding party-political representation on Bundestag committees — because otherwise the Free Democrats would not be represented at all in many small committees.

The change is not expected to make much difference to the outcome of general elections. It does not require the approval of both houses of the Bundestag, so the Social and Free Democrat majority in the lower house was all that was needed to see it through.

Heinz-Joachim Melder

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 20 May 1982)

Opposition keep up hope of attracting FDP

Social and Free Democrats in Bonn have repeatedly sworn allegiance to their coalition commitments for the duration of the present Bundestag.

That should mean they will be in joint harness until autumn 1984, but the Bonn Opposition has not yet abandoned hope of tempting the Free Democrats to change horses in mid-stream, as it were.

The Christian Democrats have tried hard at state level in Hamburg and Hesse to woo the FDP. In both states assembly elections are shortly to be held.

Now the Bonn CDU leader, Helmut Kohl, has set his cap at the Free Democrats. But teased-out references to the many viewpoints CDU and FDP hold in common are unlikely to be enough to sway FDP leader Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

After 13 years in harness the SPD and FDP are no longer as euphoric about their ties as they were in the early days of their Bonn coalition.

But it takes more than two to reach this particular decision. A coalition can only be ditched if their is a viable alternative in the form of another partner with whom a majority can be commanded and who is willing to give it a try.

Bonn Economic Affairs Minister Count Lambsdorff, representing the laisser faire liberal wing of his party, may be a policitan congenial to the Christian Democrats, but he by no means commands majority support in the FDP.

Besides, a political party is only going to switch allegiance when it not only feels like doing so itself but also has a fresh partner lined up who has something to offer.

But what do the Christian Democrats have to offer the FDP?

On all major political issues in the past the CDU and its Bavarian wing, the CSU, have frequently made do with saying what they do not favour.

They have been reluctant to say what they would have in mind if an opportunity were to arise for them to return to power in Bonn.

The SPD-FDP coalition in Bonn has been shaken by no lack of crises in recent years but the Opposition has failed to capitalise on them to any great extent.

The Christian Democrats cannot, as Herr Kohl has understandably noted, wait and see for ever. But given the picture they currently present, they look like having to continue doing so for a while yet.

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 20 May 1982)

■ MINORITIES

Dangers of the unfunny Turkish jokes

Jokes about Turks are in vogue. And they're the sort of jokes that don't do much for the reputation of German humour.

Of course, jokes on these lines have been around for a long time. But what is new is the all-time low standard.

It is of course easy to be outraged — especially for those who aren't directly involved in any way.

For these people, the word "Turk" evokes little more than visions of the little Turkish vegetable store round the corner or the Turkish jobbing tailor.

They know nothing for instance of the fears of parents whose children make no progress in elementary schools crammed with foreigners. This direct contact does breed resentment.

The jokes are restricted to the working classes, the lower middle class, high school students and similar breeding grounds of animosity.

A recent opinion sampling shows that 37 per cent of Germans are convinced that the Turks do work others consider beneath them.

But the group of those who believe that the Turks deprive Germans of jobs is only marginally smaller. This view remains unchanged even in the face of conclusive evidence to the contrary.

The point is that wrong ideas are as much a political factor as correct ones.

But where do the Turkish jokes come from and why are they mushrooming now?

In boom years, the Turkish worker in this country was viewed with a certain arrogance. But things have changed: jobs are short and Germans and Turks now vie for the few jobs that are going.

There is no getting away from the fact that the Turks accept work a German would not touch. Therefore, rivalry alone provides no adequate explanation for this "humour".

In a study on the relations between jokes and the unconscious, Sigmund Freud explained the vicious joke as part of man's psychological suppression tendency.

The Turkish joke is a classical example: It is the impotent, insulting response to general "speechlessness". It is fueled by the anger felt by those who feel that the politicians have left them alone with their fears — both the imagined and the real ones.

But what could the politicians say? They are realistic enough to realise how foolish it would be to give in to resentments. If they did so, who would remove the garbage, dig ditches or generally do the dirty work?

But at the same time everybody is plagued by a feeling of guilt, the apprehension that a given order has come unstuck — an order in which the clean and the dirty work was divided up.

Perhaps these guilt feelings are unconscious or, at best, semi-conscious. Yet they manifest themselves either as embarrassed silence or vicious joke.

There is no improvement of the situation in sight. Most Turks intend to spend many more years in Germany or stay here for good: in the ghetto.

It has always been difficult to integrate them — even to semi-integrate them. The growing animosity will prompt the Turks (like any other minority) to seal themselves off still further.

For many years, the Germans had had only a vague picture of themselves and their national characteristics. Now, suddenly, forgotten virtues like cleanliness, orderliness and industriousness surface in their jokes directed against a minority.

George Mikes once defended the most vicious of jokes, saying that the most aggressive joke was still better than non-aggressive war.

Behind these words was the hope that the joke could serve as a safety valve for pent-up rage. But there is no guarantee that such a hope is justified.

An anti-foreigner ticket achieved considerable successes at the polls in Kiel.

One of the most vicious of these jokes goes like this: "What's the difference between the Jews and the Turks?" Answer: "The Jews have it behind them, the Turks have still got it coming to them."

Michael Schwan

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 14 May 1982)

Foreigners in Fed Rep Germany in millions
1961 0.69
1967 1.81
1970 2.98
1974 4.13
1977 3.95
1981 4.63
Age 1981
over 55: 6
25—55: 54%
15—25: 16
under 15: 24
Nationality
Turks 33%
Jugoslavs 14
Italians 13
Greeks 6
Spaniards 4
Asians 5
Others 25
Length of stay
less than 4 years: 25%
4—10: 32
longer than 10 years: 43

'Time to act to stop abuse' of asylum regulations

Article 16 of West Germany's Constitution states: "Politically persecuted persons have a right to asylum."

This provision was drafted under the impact of Nazi terror and the good fortune of some Nazis in finding a haven abroad.

The authors of the Constitution wanted the new Germany to adopt the liberal traditions of those countries. As they saw it, nobody but those who were politically persecuted would want to come to war-ravaged Germany — a country from which hundreds of thousands were emigrating. This was at the birth of the republic.

Anybody who then predicted that only 30 years later the same country would be in danger of floundering under the flood of asylum-seeking foreigners would have been told to have his head examined.

Yet this is exactly what is happening and the latest asylum debate in the Bundestag dramatically highlights it.

The state prime ministers, both Social Democrats and Christian Democrats, have made it absolutely clear that their states have reached the absolute limit of their ability to absorb foreigners.

Municipalities are on the verge of collapse under the financial burden of social welfare payments — about DM1bn.

The situation is a scandal. The problems are not new. The states and the municipalities have been urging Bonn for years to do something about the fact that every year the number of people (mostly from the Third World) making a bid for a slice of the German affluence cake has been doubling.

Nobody can blame these refugees from poverty — especially since they are often the victims of criminal gangs that bring them to this country in return for their savings.

The charges are clearly levelled against the Bonn government, which has closed its eyes and has accused its accusers of being asocial and lacking in liberal spirit.

People with commonsense have long realised that there is yet another issue almost impossible to cope with: the integration of the four million foreigners and their families who were recruited for work.

This problem will not be solved unless the flood of asylum seekers is stemmed.

Let there be no misunderstanding: What matters here is not arbitrarily to restrict the right to asylum. It is the abuse of this right that undermines the constitutional guarantee of asylum.

Naturally, it is impossible to turn down asylum seekers from Poland, Soviet-occupied Afghanistan, El Salvador or Chile. But we can provide them with a haven only if the original meaning of the right to asylum is restored.

The Federal Republic of Germany is too densely populated to be an immigration country. Berlin and the conurbations around Frankfurt and Stuttgart show that animosity towards foreigners is spreading.

In Kiel, a grouping whose only platform was "Out with the Foreigners" cornered many votes. If this is not an alarming sign, what is?

Therefore, anybody who wants to prevent the outbreak of conflicts as experienced in America or in Britain must take action. It is up to our policy makers to face this.

There can be no room for party-political tactics, and procrastination will only worsen the problem.

Once the joint mediating committee of Bundestag and Bundesrat has discussed the handling of the asylum provisions, we shall see whether the coalition government is capable of making decisions.

Gisbert Kuhn

(Kieler Nachrichten, 15 May 1982)

Foreigners 'are essential to economy'

Foreigners are indispensable to Germany's economy, says Bonn Commissioner for Aliens Affairs Liselotte Funcke.

She says in a report that GNP and exports could not be maintained without them.

There is a shortage of skilled workers entering the trades and some parts of the service industry.

Frau Funcke says foreigners who have lived in Germany for a long time must be protected against arbitrary decisions based on discretionary powers. Deportation was the main issue.

She strongly opposes a reduction to below 16 of the age up to which foreign children can join their parents in Germany and is unenthusiastic about financial incentives to persuade foreigners to leave.

There are more than 4.6m foreigners in Germany and the report says it would be unrealistic to expect financial incentives to persuade even 20 per cent to go.

A repatriation premium would be little more than a little help towards a new start.

In any case, many leave of their own accord: between 1973 and 1981, 175,000 Greeks arrived and 368,000 went home. Over the same priod, 1,315,400 Turks came and 878,000 left.

dpa

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 12 May 1982)

Continued from page 1

the other nine members of the Council of Ministers to override, for the first time in 15 years, the vital interests of a fellow-member was bound to be viewed in Britain as a further humiliation.

After the Argentinian take-over of the Falklands it was now the Common Market countries that were taking turns at tweaking the lion's tail.

Paris and Bonn will doubtless hear nothing of the idea, but there can be no ruling out the possibility that this move by the EEC was the last straw that prompted Whitehall to send the troops in.

Mrs Thatcher may have intended to send them in whatever happened, but this kick in the shins by Europe will have made it much easier for her to take the decision.

Like the Americans a few years ago, it is now Britain's turn to feel it has no choice but to stand up and fight against pinpricks from all sides.

Wolfgang Wagner

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 22 May 1982)

■ LABOUR

Restrained pragmatism the hallmark of Vetter's reign as trade union leader

Heinz Oskar Vetter has been hailed by many on his retirement as general secretary of the DGB, Germany's Düsseldorf-based, 8m-strong trades union confederation.

Bonn head of state Karl Carstens for one said he was one of the country's outstanding post-war trade union leaders.

His retirement may have been overshadowed by the Neue Heimat affair and allegations of financial impropriety among union leaders and the management of the trade union-owned housing corporation.

But Herr Vetter has served with distinction at the helm of the DGB since 1969 and undeniably ranks alongside his predecessors Hans Böckler, Walter Freitag and Ludwig Rosenberg.

He was a fighting DGB general secretary yet the trade union era that bears his name has restrained pragmatism as its hallmark, a pragmatism that proved its worth on two counts.

First, the trade unions have accepted the rulings of the Bundestag as the legislature even when these rulings have been entirely opposed to their view of the position.

This point may be made even though, in 1972, at the height of the political dispute over the no-confidence motion tabled to oust Willy Brandt as Chancellor, there was trade union pressure to lean heavily on the Bundestag.

Instances of the unions accepting legislation that ran counter to their interests have included the 1976 Industrial Democracy Act and the 1981 Industrial Democracy (Coal and Steel) Act.

Second, the trade unions have realised that the independence of collective wage bargaining as laid down in Basic Law, the 1949 Bonn Constitution, is their most treasured possession.

Reluctantly perhaps, they have accepted the role of an orderly in administering collective bargaining, as President Carstens noted in his address to the DGB's Berlin congress at which Herr Vetter retired.

The unions, he said, had never lost sight of the possibilities and limitations of the economy in their role as the party to collective bargaining that was bound to look after the interests of employees.

There had, of course, been occasions when they had kicked at the traces of this overall economic responsibility.

Herr Vetter himself, referring to the outcome of his pragmatism, has said he is proud of the latest DGB manifesto. Never before had a trade union manifesto been as clearly geared to Basic Law.

The other side of the coin is that the DGB presents an entirely different public image. Playing a common-sense part in the democratic system and the economic set-up still runs counter to the gut feelings of union officials in particular.

The DGB unions may no longer feel themselves to be the revolutionary wellspring of socialism, but this gut response is based on the traditions of the historical labour movement.

Instead, the unions have persuaded themselves that in the early 50s they exchanged their revolutionary birthright for a right to industrial democracy and a say in the running of the means of production, distribution and control along the lines of the worker director system in the coal and steel industries.

This is a convenient lie. The truth is another matter. In 1949 the DGB may have launched a programme of economic democracy based on socialist principles.

But this programme was overtaken by events, first by Marshall aid and the boost it gave the German economy, then by the overwhelming success of Ludwig Erhard's free market economy.

This did not stop the DGB from showing growing impatience in demanding its right to a say in the running of industrial management.

It does so not only with a view to taking up a position of counterpoint to existing power structures. It has much more far-reaching aims in mind.

Implementation of industrial democracy at all levels, Herr Vetter said some years ago, "is the beginning and not the end of future social change."

The DGB has never ceased to set its cap at economic power, to be gained by a combination of shopfloor democracy at factory level and capital accumulation schemes for workers that nationally would ensure the trade unions control of staff savings funds.

By the terms of what the trade unions would like to have seen as the provisions of the Industrial Democracy Act, staff representatives would have been given voting rights equal to those of shareholders on the supervisory boards of major companies.

Further trade union nominees would then have been appointed to the upper of the German two-tier board system as representatives of the staff savings funds as shareholders in the company.

The aim was to give staff representatives a clear majority on the supervisory board and the final word on appointments to the management board, or board of directors.

Herr Vetter must stand accused of having lent consistent verbal support to exaggerated DGB union claims to power and of having encouraged the unions to consider themselves a political movement.

He did so when he threatened that

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Chamber pots or machine guns, it's all the same to the workers

Armaments workers couldn't care less what they manufacture, a conference at Tutzing Protestant Church Academy, Bavaria, has been told.

"We are only too happy to be turning out high-grade scrap metal," said Peter Krahl, a works councillor at Krauss-Maffei, the Munich manufacturers of the Leopard tank.

Werner Greck of Motoren- und Turbinen-Union (MTU) agreed that arms workers were not interested in the least what they produced.

A works councillor at Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm, the Munich aerospace company, added that his workmates were not worried whether they made chamber pots or machine guns.

These were comments made at a mid-May weekend conference held at Tutzing in conjunction with DGB, the trades union confederation.

Church and union officials, arms workers, industrial spokesman, scientists and politicians discussed whether the arms trade was getting out of hand and sounded out possibilities of alternatives to arms manufacture.

This is an option trade unions have barely looked into in the past, but IG Metall, the 2.7m iron and steel and engineering workers union, now runs a working party to consider alternatives, although it hasn't come up with much yet.

Klaus Mehrens of IG Metall's national executive, which advocates a freeze in arms output, reckons companies are strongly opposed to diversifying because the arms trade is so lucrative.

It is not, in any case, he says, an issue management or staff can solve. That is something only politicians can attempt, and they show scant appreciation of the problem.

Besides, as Rudolf Schöfberger, a Munich SPD member of the Bonn Bundestag pointed out, they too are confronted with an arms output dynamic they can no longer really control.

Mankind might not meet its doom in a war, he said, but he could well imagine it coming to grief on the spiralling expense of arms production.

In the Federal Republic of Germany about 200,000 jobs directly depend on arms manufacture, plus a further 200,000 to 300,000 who work for companies that supply the arms trade.

MTU managing director Ernst Zimmermann says it is wishful thinking to expect ordnance specialists to find jobs elsewhere.

It would be poor policy to cancel orders placed with German companies and have to import armaments from abroad.

Herr Mehrens admitted there was a clear-cut conflict of interests between IG Metall's anti-arms resolutions and the interest of arms workers in keeping their jobs.

But he objected to overstating the jobs case. Economist Jörg Huffschmid said arms jobs were no safer than jobs in other industries.

He based this claim on a survey by DIW, the West Berlin economic research institute, indicating that government demand in other sectors generated more jobs than in armaments.

Norbert Klaschka

(Nordwest Zeitung, 18 May 1982)

Welfare spending must be kept within limits, say employers

Employers' leader Otto Esser says Germany's welfare coat must be cut to the cloth of what is financially feasible. There is no alternative to stringent budget economies in 1983 and 1984.

Addressing an employers' conference in Travemünde, the Baltic resort near Lübeck, he said a welfare state that kept to within the limits of what was financially possible was essential if the welfare state, and with it social stability, were to survive.

He noted that the welfare system cost DM500bn a year, which put it on a par with the Bonn budget and higher than the current annual level of exports.

A review of the welfare provisions must have the following priorities. First, a fresh look must be taken at the employer's liability to foot the bill for the first six weeks of sickness benefit.

Then health insurance must be reviewed, and pensions must be pegged to earnings after tax and not gross average wages and salaries.

The law on disability must make a clearer distinction between the seriously disabled and those unable to work at their old job.

Unemployment benefit and allied provisions needed reappraising, he said. Employers remained convinced of the need for benefits to be gradually reduced after a certain period of unemployment.

Social security was also in need of reconsideration.

Herr Esser would like to continue discussions with the trade unions and management begun last winter. He was not abandoning hopes that the unions, as representatives of insurance contributors, would prefer not to see social security provisions going haywire.

Employers were no less upset than anyone else at the idea of people wanting to work but being unable to find a job, he said. They had learnt from history how dangerous unemployment could be.

So employers were not interested in maintaining an "army reserve" of jobless, and the most important contribution they could make to ensure a solution was found was to invest more.

But if they were step up investments, politicians must be more consistent in their efforts to ensure favourable conditions for investment.

Growth rate decline, underemployment, lower profits and unduly high public sector debts were all the result of years of political misorientation, the BDI agreed.

The BDI, or Confederation of Federal Republic Industry, Cologne, makes this claim in its newly-published annual report.

Politicians were evidently no longer capable of convincingly advocating and courageously implementing policy changes they realised were necessary.

The BDI warned against dangerous illusions that structural change could be brought about be short-term economic measures or controls.

The 1979 round of oil price increases was felt still to be affecting the economy. The decline in real earnings, the Japanese export drive and growing competition from threshold countries in world markets were making it even more important for German industry to adapt to changing circumstances. *dpa*

(Mannheimer Morgen, 14 May 1982)

■ THE ECONOMY

Things are looking up, but not that far up

The economic outlook has clearly brightened although the decisive push to revitalise the economy is not yet in sight.

This is the conclusion arrived at independently by the National Federation of German Banks and the Ruhr Area Chambers of Commerce.

The downward trend seems to have been halted but vital investments are not yet in sight. The *Bundesverband der Deutschen Volksbanken und Raiffeisenbanken* (BVR), an association of banks and building societies, expects interest rates to decline further.

The general economic situation is marked by continued successes on foreign markets and sinking inflation and interest rates.

But domestic trends are not strong enough to launch an upswing, says the National Federation of German Banks, Cologne, in its latest report.

It says the business community is still reluctant to invest, largely due to the continued discussion on the job creation programme and the fact that its financing is still uncertain.

What matters now is to remove the uncertainties and provide potential investors with reliable data.

The bankers are particularly worried about the growing public sector financing problems. They point to the fact that the state is already faced with revenue shortfalls of several billion deutschemarks.

Should this gap be closed through borrowing it would keep interest rates high and so hamper investment still further.

Though the spring has so far failed to bring the usual upswing, the downward trend has stopped and there are some signs of renewed optimism among the business community, the Ruhr Area Chambers of Commerce say.

Bleak forecasts are slowly giving way to a bit more optimism, though this does not apply to the construction industry and the retail trade, where pessimism has increased, if anything.

The prospects on the labour market are also bleak, although one in five industrialists interviewed complained about a shortage of labour and resulting production bottlenecks.

It is also still uncertain whether the 33,000 additional apprenticeships that will be needed in the autumn will be available.

Spokesmen of the five Chambers of Commerce concerned essentially blame this on the state government's educational policy and the introduction of a tenth compulsory year of schooling despite warnings against it.

The bottleneck that was thus created is now about to open up, releasing thousands of school leavers looking for apprenticeships.

Bankruptcies and the shut-down of plants, resulting in 65,000 lost jobs since last spring — about 10 per cent of the total of lost jobs in North Rhine-Westphalia — have made things worse.

There is general consensus on the effectiveness of the planned investment subsidy which is seen as zero. This is due to the fact that one in two firms has invested less this year than its average investment in the past three years.

Now for a poser: how is the investment subsidy to be combined with the "steel industry siting programme," which aims at creating jobs outside the steel industry to replace those lost?

If the whole thing were tackled correctly, the state (i.e. the taxpayer) would pay 25 per cent of the investment costs.

But both programmes still have no regulations governing how they should be put into action. So nothing is happening.

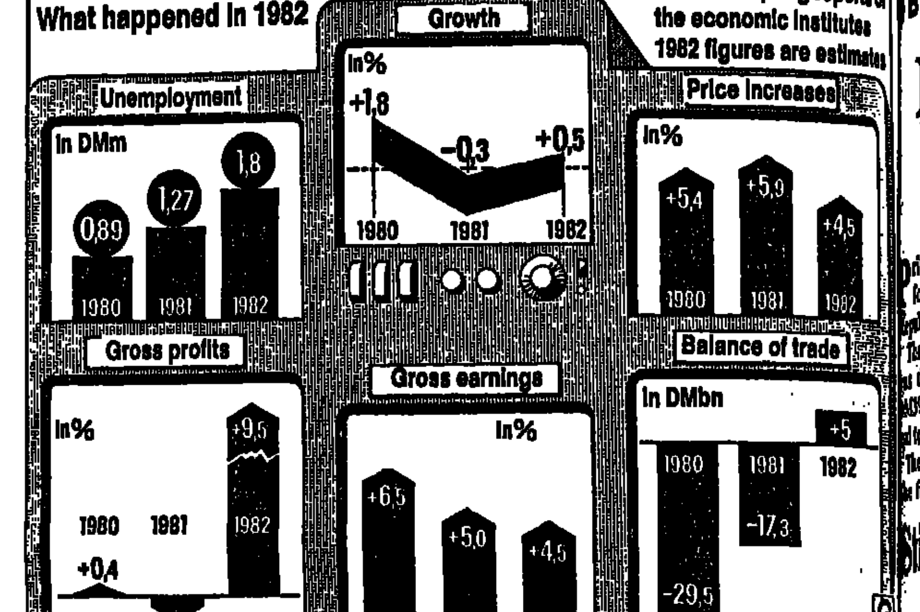
The BVR anticipates further interest rate reduction and lower inflation this year.

A BVR statement speaks of a drop in the nominal interest rate of one per cent by December and an inflation rate of about four per cent by the same month.

The aim of a balanced current account by the end of the year, following three deficit years, is now within grasp.

The BVR is by and large no longer worried that high interest rates in America might hamper German interest rate reductions except if dramatically growing US budget deficits make American rates rise more steeply than anticipated.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 18 May 1982)



Germany and China step up trade

Trade between Germany and China has risen steeply since diplomatic ties were established 10 years ago.

Volume of trade last year was DM4bn. German exports made up DM2.3bn of this.

Negotiations are taking place for an *investment promotion programme and an agreement to avoid double taxation.*

The negotiations are being handled by the Sino-German Economic Affairs Commission which has had its second conference, in Bonn.

Several large German-Chinese projects which were shelved last year are now going ahead.

German companies negotiated the deals directly with their Chinese counterparts.

It has been agreed to spread shipments for the joint venture steel mill in Baoshan near Shanghai over a longer period.

Technical and industrial cooperation between the two countries now includes some 50 projects with emphasis on mechanical engineering, electrics, pharmaceuticals and chemicals. There are also some cooperative project in the agriculture sector.

Germany wants improved and long-term cooperation in the energy sector.

According to German delegates, the Bonn government and German industry will make a bid to improve China's energy technology and help develop energy-saving processes.

The Bonn Economic Affairs Ministry wants an overall cooperation strategy in energy and raw materials in research and technology and in practical cooperation in the development of plants and the transfer of technology.

Germany wants oil exploration concessions for the German Deminex corporation. This would involve offshore work.

Deminex has previously taken part in such exploration work as a member of international syndicates.

German plant construction companies would like to in cooperate with the Chinese in offshore oil exploration.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 18 May 1982)



Income deficits force Bonn to do a juggling act

No sooner did Bonn release its latest tax revenue estimates for fiscal 1983, showing a shortfall of DM7bn, than new calculations by the Finance Ministry showed that fiscal 1982 would close with an additional revenue shortfall of DM2bn.

To make matters worse, Bonn will have to come up with a supplementary budget by mid-June; and the volume of it is unlikely to be below DM5bn to DM6bn.

The question as to when to depart from previous avowals not to spend more money will therefore not arise with fiscal 1983 but with this year's budget.

But even without the supplementary budget for fiscal 1982, the SPD and the FDP will have to come to an agreement in the next eight weeks on how to meet an additional shortfall of DM10bn.

The DM7bn tax revenue shortfall predicted for 1983 is in any event bound to be higher because new economic indicators show that the upswing will come later than anticipated.

Assuming that next year's wage deals will be as moderate as those for 1982 and that none of the other Ministries ask for additional money, Finance Minister Manfred Lahnstein would still be faced with a huge hole in the budget because the lower the wage deals the lower the tax revenue.

If the cautious estimates of the Bundesbank are correct and if it again channels DM10bn of its profits into the Bonn budget, that amount would only be enough to make up for reduced revenues resulting from our economic woes.

The DM250bn earmarked for spending in the medium-term fiscal plan will have to be exceeded.

The Federal Labour Office will have

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Built-in crisis for middle sized companies

Some well-known German companies have run into trouble. They include hi-fi manufacturer Dual, color TV maker Videocolor, Kreidler (motorcycles) and Bauknecht (washing machines).

All are either family business or medium-sized industrial companies.

Medium-sized companies are prone to mismanagement, but in these cases it is too easy to put the blame there.

However, the problems probably do have some connection with their size.

It is no coincidence that the rise in the number of bankruptcies (from 5,500 in 1979 to almost 8,500 in 1981) has been accounted for primarily by family businesses.

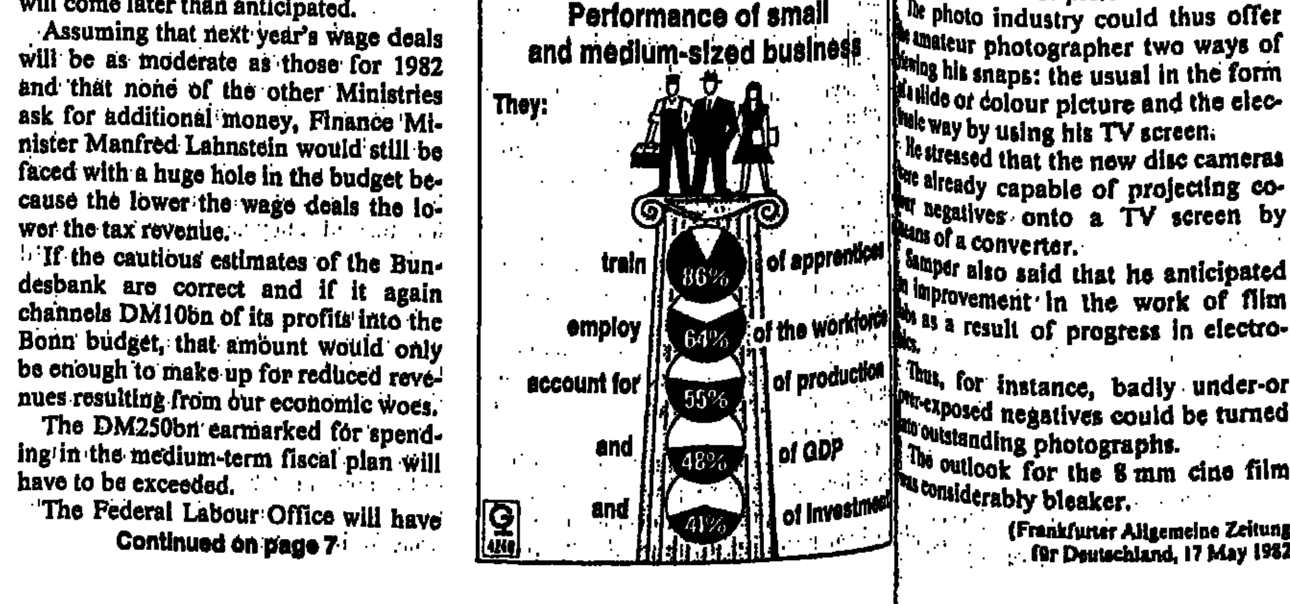
Surveys by the banks that were summoned as a last resort and that have frequently prevented a company from folding show a dangerous undercapitalisation in this type of enterprise. Bottlenecks that can occur with any type of business tend here to become critical.

According to the banks, the lack of liquidity is frequently because these companies dislike borrowing for fear of becoming dependent.

This is why lending decisions are often made simply on "instinct."

Business associations should start an information drive to eliminate this reluctance to present a company's position properly.

(Rheinische Post, 18 May 1982)



BUSINESS

Retailers step up battle to keep market share as consumer spending drops

Private spending dropped last year for the first time ever in the Federal Republic. It fell by 1 per cent.

The victim of this reluctance to spend is the retail trade, whose sales, at DM399bn, were down 2.5 per cent in real terms.

The outlook this year is no better. The first quarter figures across almost the entire retail trade were worse than a year ago.

Now the battle is on to maintain market shares. The approaches vary. Department stores are busy reorganising their departments so that people theoretically will spend less time searching for what they want.

Other shops have removed certain good entirely and established special stores for them, furniture for example. What the whole thing amounts to is that shops are becoming more specialised in a bid to secure market shares through steady customers.

The strategy of the food business is primarily marked by the sale of no-brand goods which are considerably cheaper than their brand name counterparts.

The target of attack is the discount store, the competitor that tends to corner additional market shares in economically hard times.

It remains to be seen whether the strategy will pay off. If everybody gets the same idea it soon becomes ineffectual. The truth is that food shops cannot sell more than we are prepard to consume.

As a result, there is a danger that the additional sales generated by no-brand products will go at the expense of the more profitable sale of brand name products — and hence at the expense of earnings.

The retailer who loses sight of this is likely to find himself in trouble becuse small food retailers' earnings have been poor for some time.

The strategy here is to lean increasingly heavily on the many retailer groupings such as buying cooperatives.

But the days when the prime task of the cooperative was to supply its members as cheaply as possible seem to be numbered.

Hans Reischl, chairman of the board of the Rewe organisation, sees it this way: "It's an unpleasant but necessary task to convince retailers that some of their earnings must be ploughed back into the cooperative to be used to maintain market shares."

This is indeed necessary because it would be impossible to secure these market shares without re-investing earnings. But this is frequently not done — probably because many retailers fail to see the need.

In addition, there is the danger that the Monopolies Commission, which is suspicious of any close groupings in the retail trade, will prick up its ears.

Though the Ifo Institute has found that individual retailers can hardly survive without the backing of a group, the Monopolies Commission might have different views.

In any event, there can be no getting away from the fact that retailers are tied to their group in direct proportion to the capital it provides — as for instance in the form of deferred payments for goods provided.

If used properly, this strategy could prove helpful to the retail trade, despite certain problems that go with it.

The implementation will be tedious because these groups lack the streamlined and uniform organisation of department stores.

As a result, the struggle will go on for some time. But even should the consumer climate remain unfavourable, there is every likelihood that the retail business will not go to the dogs after all.

Hanna Gieskes

(Die Welt, 15 May 1982)

Stiff competition to develop amateur snaps

One of the main concerns of the photo industry is the fierce competition for the development and printing trade.

As an example, the Hertie chain now charges 39 pfennigs per colour print, delegates to the annual congress of the German photo industry were told.

Chairman of the Photo Industry Association, Herr F. W. Rabenschlag, said the amateur market in Germany shrank by 2 per cent in 1981 but the professional market grew by about 4 per cent to DM5bn.

This was because of the poor consumer climate rather than declining interest among amateurs.

The outlook this year was for improvement and 1983 should "be a real growth year".

Herr Rabenschlag said the German video film market was already as large as the super-8 film market.

Last year 75,000 video cameras were sold for a total of DM500m, while sales of super-8 camera fell from 280,000 the year before to 190,000.

Traditional photography is going through a period of slow sales and uncertainty about the future. J. Philip Samper, of Eastman Kodak, said. Because something was technically feasible it did not mean that it would automatically sell well.

"The decision rests with the consumer, and he still wants something he can hold in his hand."

He sees photography's future in a combination of the two technologies, video and the traditional, a combination that would be a blend of the advantages of both.

For instance: the photochemical industry could provide better film and electronics could improve its recording and reproduction of pictures.

The photo industry could thus offer the amateur photographer two ways of viewing his snaps: the usual in the form of a slide or colour picture and the electronic way by using his TV screen.

He stressed that the new disc cameras were already capable of projecting colour negatives onto a TV screen by means of a converter.

Samper also said that he anticipated an improvement in the work of film labs as a result of progress in electronics.

Thus, for instance, badly under-or over-exposed negatives could be turned into outstanding photographs.

The outlook for the 8 mm cine film was considerably bleaker.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 17 May 1982)

Oil glut goes and petrol prices start to rise again

Petrol prices, which had been dropping for months, have suddenly begun rising again because the oil glut is disappearing.

Opec, whose collapse many hasty observers have predicted in the past few months, charted the course towards higher prices some months ago when Saudi Arabia agreed to cut its output in return for an undertaking by the other Opec members not to raise prices for the time being.

In view of Saudi Arabia's dominating role in Opec, it was only a question of time until the oil glut became a shortage once more.

The reduction of oil prices in the past six months was the result of surplus production amounting to about one or two per cent of global consumption. But the cutbacks in output by far exceed the former surplus.

To make matters worse for Germany, oil companies in this country have had considerable losses since mid-1981. Several refineries were shut.

And the independent filling stations that led the price reductions now have to pay higher prices in Rotterdam.

As German refinery prices are seven pfennigs per litre cheaper than Rotterdam this is the amount German prices should rise.

But in all likelihood the rise will be steeper because the holiday season and the improved economic prospects.

Independent filling stations cannot now compete and keep prices down.

All the oil companies are bound to do all they can to keep prices high.

There is thus no silver lining in sight for the motorist. The Monopolies Commission in Berlin has so far been unable to exercise its control over price abuse and has never been able to put a damper on petrol prices.

All attempts to put a spanner in the works of the oil companies have foundered in court. So there is only one policy left for the consumer: thrift.

The appreciation of the deutschemark could provide some relief by putting the brakes on the prices.

(Der Tagesspiegel, 18 May 1982)

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the trade unions would, if need be, accomplish their objectives regardless of political parties.

He did so when in 1972 in Berlin he referred to the seven million trade union members as political potential that could be mobilised.

He did so when he expressed dissatisfaction with the free market economy by saying that an economic system based on a higher degree of planning was also in keeping with the provisions of Basic Law.

He made his farewell address to the DGB congress in Berlin on 17 May, and under pressure from mass unemployment he referred, as he had done 10 years previously, to the old trade union chestnuts that the DGB, with an elephant's memory, trundles out year by year.

He called for an economic framework plan, for investment controls, for industrial democracy, for capital accumulation funds, for a stronger cooperative sector of the economy and for democratisation of the economy in general.His successor would do well to attune trade union emotions to the pragmatism the DGB unions practise.

Views may differ in degree from one union to the next, but by and large one can say that despite verbal thunder the unions are well aware that trade union activity is nowhere more fruitful than in a free market economy.

They feel like a fish in water in the social free market economy. It is high time they owned up to the fact.

Wilfried Hertz-Eichenrode

(Die Welt, 18 May 1982)

Vetter's reign at the DGB

Continued from page 6

to increase its budget by at least DM5bn in the next few years to meet the unemployment benefits of the jobless and short shift workers.

Defence Minister Hans Apel will also want more money for new weapons systems; and then there is the still open question as to whether Bonn will have to come up with more money than estimated for Poland, Turkey and other crisis areas — not to mention the fact that Bonn will have to introduce additional job creating programmes in 1983.

The new holes in the budget that have already become evident cannot be put in exact figures but it is certain that they will impose a further strain on the coalition.

The CDU's wooing of the FDP could well prove a temptation in view of the bleak fiscal future of the Social-Liberal government — despite the fact that Hans-Dietrich Genscher keeps describing the coalition atmosphere as relaxed.

Soon the cards will have to be put on the table. From mid-June, the SPD and FDP will have to prove their ability to govern even before the Bundestag goes into summer recess.

What this means is that they will have to find ways and means to finance the budget and face the risks without — as in the past — being able to wriggle their way out by pointing to a long overdue supplementary budget.

If Bonn's fiscal policy is to make any sense at all, it will have to present parliament with a 1983 budget that can stand up rather than not being worth the paper it is written on by the time it comes to passing it.

An honest fiscal policy is a must for the coalition considering the poor economic situation and growing unemployment.

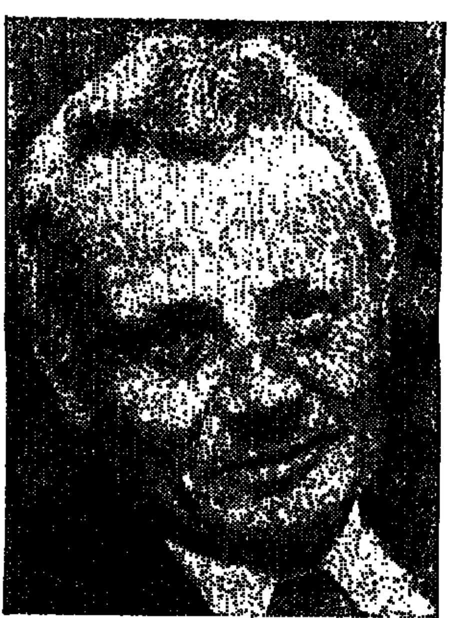
Unlike with last year's tug-of-war over the budget, the coalition will now have to show its true colours.

Peter J. Velte

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 17 May 1982)

■ FOCUS

The making of a president: a new look at the era of Brandt and Scheel



Arnulf Baring ... plenty of anecdotes.
(Photo: Kraufmann und Kraufmann)

Arnulf Baring's book on the Brandt/Scheel era in Bonn from October 1969 to May 1974 was written with unusually strong backing from Walter Scheel.

Herr Scheel served as Foreign Minister to Willy Brandt as Bonn Chancellor until, on 15 May 1974, he was voted head of state.

During his term as head of state he invited Dr Baring, a contemporary historian at the Free University of Berlin, to take a closer documentary and academic look at the creative early days of the Social and Free Democratic coalition in Bonn.

The historian gained the impression that Herr Scheel was keen to establish a counterweight to Willy Brandt's memoirs.

Dr Baring was given sabbatical leave for three years to work in a building in the grounds of the Federal President's Office on his subject.

He was also able to draw on countless interviews and conversations both in Bonn generally and arranged for him by President Scheel.

The list of people he names as having interviewed in depth fills more than a printed page and includes practically all Bonn's public figures and many lesser-known names besides.

It is followed by a long list of scientific and other colleagues consulted. So however much the book bears the Baring hallmark, it relies heavily on assistance willingly given by many others.

Dr Baring has journalistic experience and was evidently aware of the problems that could arise from being too close to his patron and frequent source of information, Herr Scheel.

But he says that Herr Scheel, although he was always approachable and ready to be of assistance, kept his distance from the project in such a way as to ensure from the outset that there would be no interference.

Dr Baring likewise took good care to ensure he retained his independence, preferring not to be given access to Foreign Office document. The price would have been an undertaking to allow his work to be virtually censored.

Official documents, he says, are often uninformative. They are couched in dry and formal terms and shed little light on the way decisions are reached.

They often merely minute resolutions passed at some meeting or other but originating somewhere else, and not just in connection with Egon Bahr, whose predilection for secretiveness is given special mention.

The result is a book that places Walter Scheel neither stage centre nor on a pedestal. It describes a political scenario with about a dozen main characters and several hundred extras.

The writer's value judgements on his actors are refreshingly frank and based on a wealth of personal knowledge.

Gustav Heinemann, Herr Scheel's predecessor as head of state, he sees, for instance, as having combined Protestant ethics with the spirit of capitalism.

He says that while Dr Heinemann had the directness and the fresh approach attrributable to his religious convictions, he was at times irksomely serious and narrow-minded to a degree encountered in religious sects.

Dr Baring makes it clear that the Christian and Social Democrats, who in 1966 after Ludwig Erhard's resignation as Chancellor formed a Grand Coalition government in Bonn, shared common misgivings about the Free Democrats.

Neither was keen on a coalition with the FDP, Herr Scheel's party. Konrad Adenauer said in 1957 he had no idea what the Free Democrats stood for and never would figure out what they wanted.

Rainer Barzel complained in 1964 about the nerve-racking guerrilla war with the FDP, while Heinrich von Brentano wrote to Adenauer, also in 1964, that: "these people (the Free Democrats) are absolutely intolerable in their arrogance."

Social Democrats Herbert Wehner and Helmut Schmidt, who were keen to ensure a reliable coalition partner, were opposed in 1969 to a coalition with the FDP.

They were also less than enthusiastic about the Free Democrats as coalition partners because the two parties emerged from the 1969 general election with a majority of six.

But a Social and Free Democratic coalition was in many ways a foregone conclusion after Dr Heinemann had been voted head of state earlier that year with the backing of FDP members of the electoral college.

The FDP were anxious to end proposals for electoral reform that seemed likely to mean their demise at the polls, and when the 1969 election results made a coalition with the SPD possible they offered to join forces with Willy Brandt's Social Democrats.

Herr Brandt agreed and was given a reluctant go-ahead by the SPD executive, which remained sceptical and retained its reservations.

The views of Social Democratic leaders had much in common with the listless support given by their Christian Democratic counterparts to CDU leader Rainer Barzel in his 1972 bid to oust Willy Brandt.

1969 to 1972 were the years of Ostpolitik negotiations between Bonn and East Bloc countries, and they are dealt with in detail, including the restraint shown by the Western powers.

The Bundestag votes on the East Bloc treaties and Herr Barzel's motion of no-confidence in Chancellor Brandt were held in swift succession, and many Christian Democrats were keen to see the SPD-FDP coalition ousted on account of its Ostpolitik.

But Dr Baring conscientiously notes that other leading Christian Democrats, including Herr Barzel, Richard von Weizsäcker and Ernst Majonica, felt in principle that the new Ostpolitik was necessary.

He fails, however, satisfactorily to explain why the no-confidence motion backfired. Willy Brandt was expected to lose, automatically making Herr Ba[...] Chancellor.

In terms of declared parliamen[...] support there was no way the SPD-F[...] coalition could possibly have surviv[...] Dr Baring merely mentions expla[...]tions mooted at the time, investigati[...] that failed to arrive at conclusions a[...] litigation that was quietly dropped.

Yet he is now being sued by Willi[...] Helms, an FDP Bundestag mem[...] who in 1972 resigned from the party [...] was, it has been alleged, bribed no[...] vote against the government in the c[...]cial division on the motion of no-co[...]dence.

That is why some paragraphs in [...] book have been blacked out after [...] court injunction.

Changes in the SPD troika of W[...] Brandt, Herbert Wehner and He[...] Schmidt came to light when Herr W[...]ner, who had been opposed to the c[...]tion with the FDP, refused to consi[...] dropping the Chancellor while he w[...] down.

He mended fences with Herr Bra[...] and the two men sought to bridle H[...] Schmidt's tempestuous ego.

But the situation changed 18 mon[...] later when Willy Brandt was in trou[...] because a leading member of his per[...]nal staff was found to be an East G[...]man spy.

Herr Wehner gave him a 24-hour u[...]matum but, cautious as ever in his t[...]tics, did not tell him to resign but m[...]ly insisted that the Chancellor rea[...] decision.

This section of the book reveals [...]tailed knowledge and accurately refle[...] the atmosphere at the time, being bas[...] on careful research.

But Dr Baring does not aim at sens[...]tional disclosures or telling points. A[...] surprising points he may have to mak[...] he prefers to make in passing, as i[...] were.

He notes, for instance, that Alex Mö[...]ler, the former SPD Finance Minister, [...] five years older than is generally suppo[...]sed, and the book is rich in anecdotes.

In confidential top-level CDU ta[...] Richard von Weizsäcker, for instan[...] advised against the motion of no-con[...]dence. That same afternoon he w[...] paid a visit by a Soviet embassy offic[...] and KGB man.

The Russian congratulated him [...] his stand. Herr von Weizsäcker comp[...]mented the Soviet diplomat on hav[...] been so quick off the mark!

More can be expected of a book wri[...]ten in such ideal circumstances th[...] might be expected of a run-of-the-m[...] work. Dr Baring fully justifies expec[...]tions.

He tries to do better than others [...] details too. His index of personal nam[...] is accompanied by potted biographi[...] His book list is accompanied by co[...]ments that gives readers a clear id[...] where to look next.

But at the end of the book there [...] neither a review of the period dealt w[...] nor a forward glance at the Schmid[...] Genscher era, part of which is now li[...] wise political history.

The book ends like a house at the e[...] of a terrace row onto which more ho[...]ses may be added. May we look fo[...]ward to a companion volume by Arn[...] Baring on the years in office of Helm[...] Schmidt and Hans-Dietrich Genscher?

Klaus-Dietrich Gurezk[...]
(Der Tagesspiegel, 6 May 19[...])

Arnulf Baring: *Machtwechsel, Die [...] Brandt/Scheel* (Power Changes Hand[...] The Brandt/Scheel Era), published [...] Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, Stuttga[...] 832pp., DM 42.

Significance of not remembering words of the national anthem

In their complicated history the Germans can hardly be said ever to have had a better state than the Federal Republic, certainly none more peaceful, more social and more democratic.

True, it is only a rump state, a partial state, and that is doubtless one reason why West Germans, in comparison with the French or the Poles, are lacking in national feeling, as many foreign observers have noted, usually with a sigh of relief.

The strange relationship between the Germans and their national symbols must also be seen in this light.

Take the national anthem. Thirty years ago President Heuss declared the *Deutschlandlied* the national anthem again; not the *Deutschland, Deutschland über alles* of the first verse but merely the third, which proclaims unity, justice and freedom.

Yet fewer and fewer Germans can recall the words. It is arguably due to the great historic divide of 1945. Nowadays, in the Federal Republic of Germany, the idea of owning a flag to hang out of the window is virtually inconceivable.

Many Germans feel embarrassed by the idea of joining in the singing of the national anthem. This is a fact and little can be done about it, not even by having children learn the words by heart again at school or by having it played daily on radio and TV.

To want to upgrade the national symbols officially would run counter to the very nature of the Federal Republic, which is a flourishing company that allows its staff ample leisure time.

Most are well aware how valuable this is. Soberly, democratically, they give this esteem expression by voting at the polls for one or other of the political parties that endeavour just as levelheadedly to keep the state in order and set aside temptation.

Germany's World Cup soccer squad may not be the world's best at memorising their national anthem, but there are things that weigh more heavily.

Ralf Lehmann
(Westdeutsche Allgemeine, 5 May 1982)

■ AVIATION

Hanover show shop window for small aircraft

The A 310, the new, smaller version of the A 300 Airbus, was the centre of interest at the Hanover air show, where it was seen for the first time since its 3 April maiden flight in Toulouse.

Designed for short- and medium-haul travel, it will seat between 210 and 236 passengers and fly at up to 480 knots.

Airlines in 15 countries have already placed 180 orders, so the Airbus consortium of manufacturers in Britain, France, Germany, Holland and Spain are sitting pretty.

The original Airbus is flown all over the world, and crowds flocked to Hanover to see the A 310 for themselves. The air show organisers were delighted.

But the planes that really stole the show were the small fry. Hanover has emerged as a major rendezvous for the general and business aviation trade.

It specialises in helicopters, which are gaining ground worldwide, and in business and commuter jets and single- and twin-engined private and executive aircraft.

All leading manufacturers in these categories exhibit at Hanover, and they include the Americans, Japanese, Brazi-

Christ und Welt
Rheinischer Merkur

lians, Israelis, Canadians, French, Italians and Germans.

Sales have been hit by the recession, but not those of well-designed German models, such as the Dornier Do 228-100 jet and the Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm Bo 105 and BK 117 helicopters.

Small private and executive propeller-driven aircraft use special aero fuels that are increasingly expensive and in short supply, so manufacturers have had to take a long, hard look at their products.

New models have been the result, and many were on show at Hanover. Business or general aviation cannot simply charge passengers the rising cost of fuel.

General aviation comes between airline and charter services on the one hand and military aviation on the other, and it is big business.

Worldwide it handles between 90m and 100m passengers a year. So Hanover was a clearer pointer than ever to the state of the economy in general.

General aviation manufacturers are fighting for shares of the market. American firms, who used to rule the roost, have been aghast as sales have plummeted for two years in succession. At times their output was nearly halved.

European and Japanese manufacturers were the winners, boldly and successfully taking advantage of the trend toward smaller and more efficient planes.

New production techniques can help a company to do well in the slump, as a German manufacturer, Grob, based in Mindelheim, Bavaria, has shown.

Grob manufactures gliders at prices that have clearly called a halt to the rising cost of gliding and has sold over 2,000 gliders and motorised gliders.

The company now plan to set their cap at the small aircraft market with a range of cut-price plastic-fuselage single-engine planes. The G 110 will first be marketed as a two-seater.

The next step will be setting up a production facility in the lion's den, America, the home ground of Cessna, Beechcraft and Piper.

Grob expect the market outlook to improve considerably. Market research forecasts growth rates of over 50 per cent a year in general aviation until the end of the decade.

But it takes courage to risk manufacturing aircraft in a country where the world's leading manufacturers are at home and are already engaged in cutthroat competition among themselves.

General aviation is a must in many industries nowadays, supplying oil rigs and platforms and serving scientific expeditions, not to mention ambulance services and mercy bids.

Experts are agreed that although commercial jet airliners have become part of everyday life, the small fry are in many ways even more indispensable.

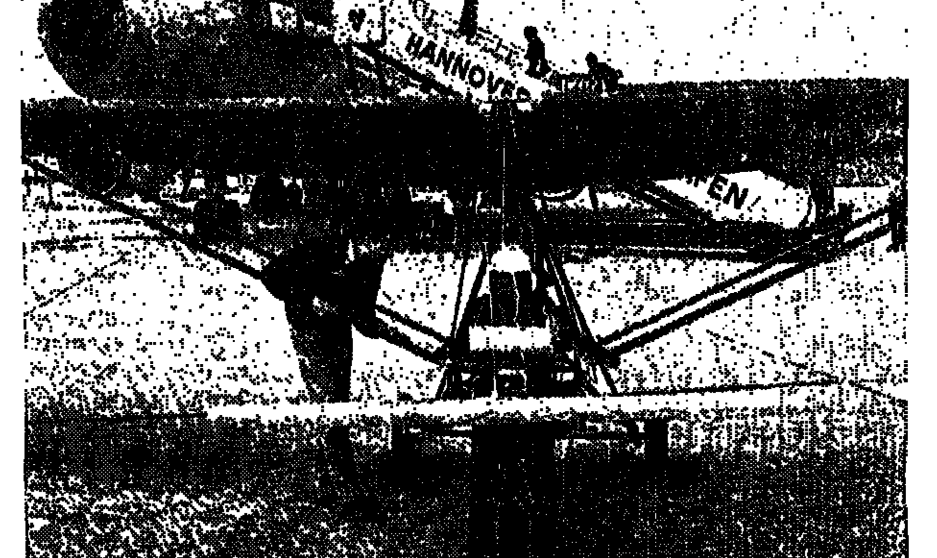
Between 1974 and 1980 the number of Germans holding private pilot's licences increased from 22,800 to 27,700. Then there are 6,000 professional and airline pilots.

The number of single- and twin-engined business and private aircraft and helicopters has increased to over 7,000.

They stand for a domestic market that made a beeline for Hanover, as did foreign manufacturers and buyers who are also to be found at Farnborough and Le Bourget.

At Hanover roughly 340 exhibitors from 20 countries exhibited everything that is anything in aerospace today and pointed the way to technological progress.

The new Airbus may have been at the centre of interest but it was only one of 150 types and models on show. They included the Diamond, a new nine-seater jet from Japan of which 120 have already been sold.



This 27 horsepower "aerial motor scooter" is capable of 90 kilometres an hour (about 60 mph). It was on show at the Hanover Air Show together with the new Airbus, the 310, here in the background. (Photo: dpa)

Then there was the Embraer EMB-110 from Brazil, a turboprop model its manufacturers expect to sell well and reinforce Brazil's reputation in the aerospace industry.

The Westwind II is an executive jet from Israel, a relative newcomer to the general aviation market, while there were at least a dozen new models from America, especially in the turboprop category.

Never have so many helicopters, both civilian and military, been on show at Hanover either, and here too there are sound commercial reasons for the interest shown by both buyers and sellers.

Few markets seem likely to expand more rapidly than helicopters, of which there are 42,000 in use worldwide at present.

In the 70s 9,400 civilian and 11,600 military helicopters were built in the non-communist world. In the 80s the ratio is expected to be more than reversed, with 21,000 civilian models being sold, as against only 8,000 military helicopters.

So the trend is toward civil uses, and the helicopter trade both exhibited at Hanover and held an international helicopter party at Hanover and Bückeburg.

The timing was well-chosen, since although US manufacturers continue to predominate, the Italians, British and French face increasingly tough competition from Germans and Japanese in joint harness.

The BK 117, jointly developed and built by Messerschmitt-Bölkow-Blohm and Kawasaki, is selling as well as the Airbus.

Last year American manufacturers reported turnover down 19.6 per cent, which they attributed mainly to European competition, including Messerschmitt but mainly meaning Aérospatiale of France, who have emerged as the leading European manufacturer.

Aérospatiale are selling more than Hughes and Sikorsky and almost level-pegging with Bell. So Hanover was arguably even more important as a helicopter show than as a shop window for general aviation.

Karl Morgenstern
(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 14 May 1982)

Pilots criticise German and European airports

German airports and European air space have been criticised by international airline pilots, says Cockpit, the Frankfurt-based German pilots' association.

Landing conditions at Stuttgart, Hamburg and Saarbrücken are rated very poor and at Frankfurt and Bremen as poor by Ifalpa, the international association.

Reinhardt Abraham of the Lufthansa board is no less critical of organisation and equipment in European air safety control.

The shortcomings listed by Ifalpa mainly include electronic and optical landing aids that are either inadequate or do not exist.

Then there are obstacles, such as a dike in Bremen and trees in Hamburg, that make the runway approach more difficult.

This does not mean the airports slated are dangerous, says a Cockpit spokesman. It merely means they are less suitable for use in poor conditions.

Pilots are not allowed to land when poor weather or a technical defect make it impossible to guarantee a safe run-up. So they fly to better-equipped airports instead.

Herr Abraham's criticism was levelled at organisation rather than the airline pilots' comments, which related more to technicalities.

European air corridors, he said, are too tortuous. Commercial aircraft have to fly distances up to 15 per cent longer than necessary in order to reach their destinations via approved routes.

This, he told a European aviation conference in Toulouse, was a waste of time and energy. It was due mainly to disorganised air safety controls, for which individual countries were mainly to blame.

Air traffic is, of course, dense in Europe. In America there are many more flights and a much larger number of passengers, but they are spread over a larger area.

European conditions can only bear comparison with Japan, whereas in America air safety control regulations and equipment are uniform.

In Europe the politicians have failed abysmally in their bids to give Eurocontrol supranational powers. First steps in this direction have been nipped in the bud by national governments, including Bonn.

Equipment differs from country to country too. Some, such as Germany, try to use the latest equipment; others are years behind the times.

"You can't build an autobahn to the border between one country and the next and have only a footpath on the other side of the border," Herr Abraham said.

In the United States equipment is already up to high standards and a 20-year modernisation programme has been drawn up. It provides for new computers, secondary radar and a microwave landing system that will enable aviation to be handled more flexibly.

The Federal Aviation Authority plans to invest $10bn in this programme.

K. Müller
(Die Welt, 14 May 1982)

■ THE ENVIRONMENT

United Nations reflects on Third World and the Drinking Water Decade

UNEP, the UN environmental programme, launched 10 years ago after an international conference in Stockholm, has been reviewed in Nairobi.

After a decade's work it was felt to be time for a conscientious analysis of progress and shortcomings and an assessment of trends and developments.

Seven days of endless talk and a deluge of documentation later, initial findings may have been a disappointment, but only to those who were expecting the new UN broom to sweep clean.

How unrealistic that was was seen in Nairobi, where speakers from 120 delegations outlined progress amounting to little more than a growing awareness of environmental issues.

Converting this realisation into action is where the problems start, and for developing countries they are as great as ever they were, if not greater.

Fresh water, for instance, is still a scarce and inaccessible commodity for the rural population of Third World countries. Only 29 per cent have access to water supply systems.

As for drainage and sewage, only one urban dweller in 20 has access.

So UNEP has dubbed the 80s drinking water decade, which testifies both to commitment and to impotence. Like other UN bodies, it is powerless to do more than draft plans, programmes and appeals. It has few opportunities of putting ideas into practice.

It is far from untypical that a plan was drawn up at a 1977 conference to deal with expansion of the world's deserts but that no action has yet been taken to implement it.

Desertification, engulfing an estimated 20 million hectares a year, has not yet as much as been slowed down, let alone stopped in its tracks.

Setbacks of this kind are due not only to lack of cash and good will but also to a failure so far to convert scientific knowledge into programmes that involve a wider public.

Scientific gatherings may gain profound insights into ways of combating soil erosion, but the battle will not be won until farmers at the foot of Mount Kenya have been persuaded it is in their interest to grow crops on terraces.

A conference on the economics of forestry such as was held in Djakarta in 1978 is fine, but the crucial step forward is only made when nomad women in southern Ethiopia realise planting trees can ensure survival.

Grass roots persuasion alone is not enough either. Overgrazing, which can fast result in soil erosion, is in many cases due less to the cattle-owners' lack of common sense than to the government.

High taxation and other levies can force them to keep large herds on the hoof as cash in hand, as it were.

The Third World's environmental problems cannot be viewed in isolation. They form a vicious circle alongside other problems, such as poverty and overpopulation.

The age-old system of migratory agriculture in the tropics no longer works properly, largely due to pressure of population.

Areas under cultivation used to be rested for long enough periods. Nowadays they are overworked to such an extent that they are wide open to wind and water erosion.

When population growth is four per cent a year, as in Kenya, it is only logical for farmers to move ever deeper into the remaining forests even though that might run counter to the equally basic need of wood for fuel.

With such a complexity of problems there can naturally be no sure-fire solutions, especially at a conference one Western expert called an international gathering called to proclaim its own inability.

This may have been somewhat exaggerated, but the Nairobi conference had an air of being at a loss for an answer and was clearly unable to live up to expectations.

It can only be said to have been a success inasmuch as it focussed public interest on environmental issues again and provided an opportunity for experts to compare notes and new ideas.

One such idea came from the Federal Republic of Germany. The Bonn delegation announced that Germany was to draft new regulations governing the export of weedkillers.

This was a major contribution towards specific action and a means of establishing credibility with developing countries that continue to be snowed under with toxic chemicals from the West.

West Germany alone exports 140,000 tons of insecticide a year that is either banned or subject to restrictions on the home market.

Stefan Klein
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 18 May 1982)

■ LITERATURE

Writer Peter Weiss dies in exile at 65



Peter Weiss... hard road to success. (Photo: Suhrkamp Verlag)

Peter Weiss, the *Marat/Sade* playwright, has died in Stockholm. He was 65. The play he is best remembered for had its first night on 29 April 1964 at West Berlin's Schiller-Theater.

It was a memorable occasion, with love and torture on-stage, prayer and murder, acrobats and nuns, nurses and madmen, and ended with cries of delight and feet stamping in applause.

The *Marat/Sade* premiere was a momentous occasion in the history of the German stage and made the reputation of a writer who had previously been a dark horse fancied by insiders.

Although he was a German, Weiss had lived in Sweden since 1939.

His epic play about the French Revolution, entitled in full *The Persecution and Assassination of Jean Paul Marat, Performed by the Drama Group at Charenton Asylum Under the Direction of M. de Sade,* ended what one leading critic called an interregnum of mediocrity on the German stage.

Fifteen years and an international career later, life was a little more peaceful for Weiss, who was 65 on 8 November last year.

The heated political debate in connection with his impromptu Weimar Address of 1965 had abated. In the West it had earned him the reputation of being in favour of the GDR and a GDR-style communist.

Weiss certainly had a chequered relationship with the two German states. He was seldom entirely satisfied with conditions in either.

He was opposed to the Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia and stood up for exiled GDR poet and dissident Wolf Biermann and others of his kind.

But he was no less critical of the capitalist direction West German society had taken and the way in which it had effaced the fascist past from its memory.

Peter Weiss became a German writer the hard way. He was born near Berlin, where his father was a Jewish textiles manufacturer.

In 1934 he emigrated, first to Prague, where he studied art, then to Sweden, where he tried his hand at documentary and experimental films.

He became a Swedish citizen and married a Swedish set designer. When he started writing he was torn between the two languages before deciding to write in German as his literary language.

Much of what he wrote vanished into the proverbial drawer or was not published for years. His experimental short novel *The Shadow of the Coachman's Body* was written in 1952 but not published until 1960.

It gained him an initial reputation. Two years later his German publishers, Suhrkamp of Frankfurt, published his autobiographical novel *Farewell to My Parents.*

It was followed in 1963 by the novel *Vanishing Point,* then by *The Conversation of Three Men Walking,* which was a highlight of the annual gathering of the Gruppe 47.

But *Marat/Sade* was his breakthrough. In distant Stockholm Weiss was rated one of the most important outposts of contemporary German literature.

His next play, *The Investigation,* premiered jointly on 19 October 1965 in several cities in the Federal Republic and the GDR, was almost equally successful.

It was based on testimony given at

Continued on page 12

Award made, but it comes too late

Peter Weiss has been awarded the 1982 Büchner Prize by the Academy of German Language and Literature, Darmstadt, in recognition of his entire literary output.

The award is worth DM20,000 in cash and the jury made its decision on 3 May. It was to have been officially announced at the academy's spring meeting in Lüneburg from 25 to 27 May.

Weiss was notified a few days later and had agreed to attend the Lüneburg gathering, but died suddenly in Stockholm on 11 May.

dpa
(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 13 May 1982)

Rediscovery of the late Irmgard Keun

After reading Irmgard Keun's first novel, *Gilgi — One of Us,* in 1931, Kurt Tucholsky noted: "A woman writer with a sense of humour, just imagine! There's talent for you."

She has only lately been rediscovered as a main representative of the literary side of the pre-war *Neue Sachlichkeit,* or New Realism school of art.

Her novels were read with delight by millions in the early 30s and have come back into their own since she was rediscovered in 1979. She died on 5 May aged 72.

Gilgi sold 30,000 copies. Her second novel, *The Artificial Silk Girl,* published a year later and filmed in 1960 starring Giulietta Masina, was a favourite with Berlin writers.

It told the tale of an 18-year-old shorthand typist who wanted to become a glamour girl in Berlin but made no headway because she was too honest.

Narrated from her viewpoint, it showed how relations between people break up in the big city.

In 1933 her books were blacklisted by the Nazis as asphalt literature. She went into exile in 1935 and settled in Ostend, where she made the acquaintance of many other German writers.

She later retained fond memories of Joseph Roth in particular. "He was," she wrote, "the only man who has taken root in my soul."

As an emigré she wrote the novels *The Girl The Children Were Not Allowed to Mix With, Child of all Countries, Third-Class Express* and *After Midnight,* which was filmed by Wolf Gremm in 1981.

After the war she settled in Cologne and published more novels, including *Ferdinand, the Man with the Friendly Heart,* but less and less was heard of her.



Irmgard Keun... brought delight to millions (Photo: Isolde Ohlbaum/Claassen Verlag)

Then, in 1979, when Claassen, the Düsseldorf publishers, started reprinting her work, Irmgard Keun made an extraordinary comeback.

In an age when wanting to have to and buy was what counted and people lacked aims in life, she gave the lie to their true anxiety.

Christine Wischmann
(Nordwest Zeitung, 7 May 1982)

Publishers look towards the American market

Not many German writers are known quantities in America. Thomas Mann, Günter Grass and Heinrich Böll can be found in any bookshop, but other writers are seldom heard of.

But two publishers, a German and an American company, are convinced this need not be the case and plan to publish a wide range of German literature in English.

Fromm-Verlag, new to the United States, has announced that it will be mainly publishing books that have appeared in Germany since the war and been hailed by critics.

Leo Victor Fromm, managing director and grandson of the founder of the firm, notes that after the war there was an understandable dislike of German literature in the United States.

But times have changed and there seems to be a backlog of interest in good books from Germany.

One of the first five to be published this spring was Horst Krüger's *Das zerbrochene Haus,* a tale of childhood and youth in Hitler's Germany.

Then there were Hans Erich Nossack's *Spätestens im November,* Ernst Penzoldt's *Die Powenz-Bande, Zoologie einer Familie,* Alice Ekert-Rotholz's *Reis aus Silberschalen* and Christine Brückner's *Nirgendwo ist Poenichen.*

They were all bestsellers in Germany but have been limited to an initial hard cover print run of 4,000 to 6,000 copies in the States.

Fromm, having bought US rights from various German publishers, hopes to be able to sell the paperback rights to an American publisher.

The other publisher who is branching out into German books is Continuum Publishing Corp., established in 1980 by Werner Mark Linz.

It has announced plans for a series of 100 books of not only writing but also on art, music, politics, sociology, religion and science.

The first books in the series will include work by Heinrich Heine and Heinrich von Kleist and an anthology entitled *Humanism and Reformation in Germany.*

Gabriele Jahn
(Die Welt, 14 May 1982)

50 years since the Nazis burnt the books

To mark the 50th anniversary of the Nazi bonfires of banned books in May next year Osnabrück is to told a commemorative week and a conference on emigre literature.

A wide range of activities is being arranged in collaboration with the city's university to illustrate the extent and importance of the loss to science and the arts the Nazis caused.

They will include exhibitions, concerts, films, readings and stage productions to honour and uphold the memory of artists, writers and scientists persecuted by the Third Reich. Willy Brandt has agreed to deliver the inaugural address on 10 May 1983. Ernst Loewy will speak on German-language literature in exile after 1933 and an emigré revue will be staged.

The congress on emigre literature and art will deal with musicians in exile, art in the holocaust, the German stage in exile and similar topics.

It will be backed by specialists such as Professor Walter Huder, Professor Helmut Müssener and Ursula Langkau-Alex.

dpa
(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 14 May 1982)



■ EXHIBITIONS

Show organisers trip up 10,000 years of Syrian culture at the last hurdle



This life-size statue of a goddess carved out of white stone dates from between 2040 and 1870 BC. (Photo: Catalogue)

Poor presentation spoiled an exhibition of Syrian artefacts in West Berlin's Schloss Charlottenburg.

The display, comprising 270 items on loan from museums in Damascus, Aleppo, Palmyra and Dair az-Zur, was arranged by German and Syrian archaeologists to show 10,000 years of Syrian culture.

It would have been nice if the exhibits had been placed on simple pedestals or in glass display cabinets where they could be seen under natural light.

But they weren't. Instead they were wedged between extensive descriptions, models, photographs and tables.

As a result, the artistic value was cloaked by excessive complications including repulsive colours.

The items were placed with their backs towards the windows and, despite the hall's excellent lighting, spotlights were used for illumination.

In addition, unnecessary steps and pedestals acted as artificial stumbling blocks which irritated the visitor.

However, getting back to the content: sketched reconstructions of cities, palaces and mausoleums gives insights into a culture which, located as it is, between Europe, Africa and Asia, has all the elements of a civilisation on a cultural crossroads.

As with other cultures, here, too, it is the seemingly insignificant items that are most revealing for the early stages of a culture particularly the clay tablets and fragments of tablets representing important documents.

One statue dating from the 3rd century BC is reminiscent of Greek-archaic depictions, though facial traits and stance are much more natural.

Experts are at odds on the question whether the vessel held by the figure indicates that this is a water deity, showing the cautiousness with which archaeology interprets ancient art.

Other statuettes found in Syria and dating from newer eras clearly demonstrate the influence of Egyptian art.

The male figure labelled "Deity Baal" wears an Egyptian crown (bronze with well preserved gold plating). It is reminiscent of the art style during the Tutankhamen era. But this is not the only example of Egyptian influence.

The sculptures found at the Palmyra dig show Roman influence and most of them date from the 1st and 2nd centuries AD.

The curious broadness of proportions is also typical of Coptic art along the Nile.

A Marle and Bolaja death feast relief dating from the second half of the 2nd

Süddeutsche Zeitung

century AD is reminiscent of old Etrurian gravestones.

There are Christian and Roman influences on one side of the exhibition, especially where stone sculptures are concerned, while Islamic influence is prevalent in earthware items.

Mesopotanian influence is in evidence in pieces from the earliest era such as the various types of seals.

The amazing variety of forms, eventually resulting in a blend o styles, determines the value of the items in terms of cultural history — a value that is in most cases greater than the purely aesthetic worth of the exhibits.

Together with the clay models of houses, the exhibition conveys an idea of the high standard of day-to-day living at the time.

It would have been nice of these original items from Syria, the country on the Western periphery of the Orient that are shown in the uniquely beautiful orangery hall of the palace had been displayed in a more neutral fashion.

The extensive and clearly written catalogue brings the reader up-to-date on current research results.

But the layout is such as to make it extremely difficult to find the texts relating to individual pictures: the black background of the pages has made it impossible to number them consecutively.

It will forever remain a mystery known only to the publishers why they tried to create the impression of darkness, which runs counter to the objective of archaeology's aim: to shed light on the past.

Doris Schmidt

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 14 May 1982)

Continued from page 11

court proceedings in Frankfurt against Auschwitz concentration camp staff.

Then came *The Song of the Lusitanian Bogyman*, the *Vietnam Discourse* and *Trotsky in Exile*, for which he was reproved by the *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, of Moscow.

Later plays, including *Hölderlin* and *The Trial*, based on Kafka's novel, were mostly dismissed as failed stage adaptations, as was *The New Trial*, which he directed in Stockholm this March.

But his trilogy *The Aesthetics of Resistance*, 1975-81, describing the struggle against Hitler's fascism in a "wishful biography," is slowly earning a well-deserved reputation as one Weiss's main works.

Peter Engel

(Mannheimer Morgen, 12 May 1982)

The delicate and the practical – porcelain's many faces

Objekt Nana, on display at the Hanover exhibition entitled Rosenthal — 100 Years of Porcelain, is reminiscent of the early fertility symbols of the Cycladic civilisation (in the Greek Cyclades islands) and of the finds made in the graves of our own distant ancestors.

Colourful and squat, the little woman with her tiny head, huge breasts and broad hips seems a bit of an outsider among all the vases made from almost translucent porcelain, the elegantly shaped coffee pots and richly decorated cups and plates.

"Objekt Nana", made in 1973 by the French artist Niki de Saint-Phalle, is but one of the 130 items on show.

Whenever the name Rosenthal is mentioned, most people think of the simple and utilitarian porcelain the Rosenthal company has been making since 1961 and marketing under the name "Studio Line". For older people, Rosenthal is reminiscent of the coffee service they knew when they were young. This service was sold under the name *Marias weiss* — one of the best sellers among porcelains around 1914. But few people know that the Shah of Iran also ate off Rosenthal plates. The socalled "Shah Service" with its gold decorated platters and plates and designs resembling Egyptian tomb inscriptions was specially made for the 1971 festivities commemorating Cyrus I. The teapot in the service named *Schönheit der Arbeit* (beauty of work), first manufactured in 1937, was intended for the man-in-the-street. The impression is that of huge and tubby comfort that could easily hold a dozen cups of tea.



These two porcelain figurines, both 46 cm high, were made by Gerhard Schliepstein in 1926. They are on loan from the collection of Fritz Klee. (Photo: Catalogue)

It is a curious blend of unusual and everyday items, of utility porcelain and special occasion services, enhanced by figurines and other small display items.

There is, for instance, Ferdinand Liebermann's 1911 bust entitled *Schreck* (Shock) and the gay "Pierrot" made in 1923 — all of it together making for a colourful show that reflects the history of this major German porcelain manufacturer.

Rosenthal is one of the youngest companies in this field although it was not long before most leading china artists of the day seemed to be working for it.

The company's payroll was barely 60 in 1882, rising to 225 only ten years later.

The company that began as a workshop for the decoration of white porcelain soon developed into one of the largest porcelain making centres in southern Germany.

From the very beginning, Rosenthal made not only everyday utility items ranging from tea services via lampstands all the way to special fish services but concentrated heavily on its socalled "Artists Programme".

The only break in the tradition was caused by the two world wars when the production of Chinese and general oriental style vases, dainty statuettes and merry fauns had to give way to the production of pure utility items.

All the trends and fads of the past 100 years, ranging from Historism all the way to the New Objectivity, are reflected in porcelain.

Even if such items as *Stürmende Bacchanten* of 1912 (storming Bacchantes) or the service in the more recent series "Suomi Objects" might not be to everybody's taste, the exhibition conveys the impression that such artists as Julius Vilhelm Gulbrandson, Henry Moore and Raymond Peynet did not try in vain to impart a whiff of art to everyday objects.

M. v. Schwarzkopf

(Die Welt, 13 May 1982)

■ BEHAVIOUR

Family life blamed for high rate of child bashing

Some 120 children a year are battered to death by a parent. Child battering is more widespread in the Federal Republic of Germany than in south European countries. Professor Walter Bärsch, a psychologist who is president of the German Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, tells Gertraut Witt, of the Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, why.

Professor Bärsch puts much of the blame for the high rate of German baby bashing on the nature of the German family.

He says the child is the weakest link in society so it is a convenient target when a man has had trouble at work or is angry with his wife.

"We're no longer prepared to be deluded by the idyllic image of the German family. We want to point out the dangers."

There are historic reasons for the growing number of child battering cases (most of the victims are infants or toddlers); but in the past few years the consequences of unemployment and adult frustration when they can't afford enough consumer goods have played an increasingly important role.

"The child serves as a sort of lightning conductor," says Professor Bärsch.

Child battering is more widespread in the Federal Republic of Germany than in South European countries. Asked why, Professor Bärsch pointed to Italy as an example.

The Italian family is not seen as the nucleus of the state. Italian children have more rights than German children, who are treated as adolescents who must be made to "bend to the rules."

For German parents, a responsible upbringing frequently means supervising the child from the moment it gets up in the morning until lights out. "So that it grows up a decent person."

This strips the child of the opportunity to develop as naturally as it can in other countries.

The state, which is understood as the final authority in Germany's industrial society, therefore causes more conflicts and discipline problems in Germany than, say, in Italy — a country that was denied statehood for centuries.

Bärsch: "Though our society claims to reject the use of force as a means of resolving conflicts we nevertheless uncritically accept the state's monopoly in the use of force."

Attempts by the society to help children threatened by abuse frequently founder on the fact that child battering is viewed purely in terms of the criminal code under which only parents are subject to prosecution "but not the mother's boyfriend who gives the child a thrashing."

Victims come from all social strata. Though statistics appear to show that child abuse is most widespread in low income families, the fact is that the crime is as common among higher earners — except that their child battering rarely shows up in statistics because these people are cleverer at hiding the fact.

Professor Bärsch denies that working mothers are a contributing factor in the breakdown of family life.

"If the mother is happy in her job the satisfaction she gains from it can actually be conducive to a happy family life. But the children should be aged over four before the mother takes a job," he says.

"In cases where both parents hold full-time jobs, they frequently try to discharge their child rearing duties in an abbreviated form after work. And here, many parents find that violence gets the quickest results."

The society has for some years maintained homes for children in Berlin, Bremen and Munich.

The homes are open to both mothers and their threatened children, but they are geared entirely to the needs of the children.

Bärsch: "It's useless to take action only against the fathers or mothers of battered children. Child abuse can be anything that interferes with or prevents the natural development of a child into an independent personality. This could include schools that order a child transferred to a special school for retarded children only because it has spelling problems."

It is also child abuse when one parent makes use of a custody court order and enlists the help of the police to have the child taken to another place against its will. To prevent this, the society demands that family affairs legislation be changed. For instance, children should be represented by their own legal counsel in custody cases; and custody courts should be obliged to cooperate with non-judiciary institutions such as educational counselling centres in an attempt to establish what is really best for the child.

Judges often have so much to do that they cannot by themselves decide what is in the child's best interests.

The homes for battered children now find themselves increasingly dealing with battering parents who come to ask for help in solving their problem.

Mothers who have been sentenced to prison terms for child battering are given help after their release from prison.

And then there is the "worry telephone" for children which is being used more and more often. Most of the problems here have to do with the family and school.

Bärsch: "Society's relationship with the school system is anything but good."

Gertraut Witt

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 8 May 1982)

■ MEDICINE

Old age not an automatic barrier to having sex

It is a myth that people can't have sex in old age, according to a Wiesbaden gynaecologist.

Wolfgang Cyran told the 14th Geriatrics Congress in Bad Soden that sex right up until advanced old age was not only possible but desirable.

Sex among the old was an expression of joy and self-affirmation.

There was no limit to orgasms both partners could have even if they were over 60 or even 70. He recommended sexual training to help.

Disturbed partner relations are more frequent causes of less sex in old age than lack of desire. Even people who had suffered heart attacks need not worry about sex. So far, Dr Cyran told the congress, no case of a 60-year-old heart attack patient having died "on the job" has become known.

Sex imposed no greater burden on the cardiovascular system than climbing stairs, emotional problems or watching a thriller on television.

What posed problems for medicine was the fact that there are four old women to every old man.

Patients over 60 who have sex problems should try to mutually rid themselves of the fear of failure and convey a feeling of love and security.

Like with all other bodily functions, the man's physiological sex reactions in old age slow down, Dr Hermann J. Vogt said. But forgoing an orgasm does not impair the satisfaction of elderly people.

Dr Vogt said the genitals of male patients should be examined to diagnose possible tissue changes.

The psychological causes of diminishing sex in old age should, like all other partnership problems and general apprehensions, be discussed in the presence of the wife.

The reproductive ability of men can be retained until a ripe old age.

dpa

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 8 May 1982)

Drink and drugs: why the young take to them

Some 150,000 juvenile West Germans are alcoholics and more than 80,000 are heroin mainliners.

These figures have just been released by Bavaria's Interior Ministry to coincide with a seminar on alcohol problems.

The seminar, attended by experts from many European countries, deals with ways of preventing addiction.

The theme is "Primary Prevention" and the aim is to prevent any form of escapism from society which includes not only escape into drugs but also into psychological disorders, running away from home, over-eating and its opposite, starvation — suicide.

ddp

(General-Anzeiger Bonn, 10 May 1982)

Foundation gives cash backing to multiple sclerosis project

The multiple sclerosis clinical research team of the Max Planck Society working at Würzburg University's Neurological Hospital has been awarded a DM14m subsidy by the Hermann and Lilly Schilling Foundation.

The research group is to begin its work this summer.

The group, which has modelled its its research on British and American projects, will establish close organisational ties between basic and clinical research — for the first time in Germany in the field of nervous disorders.

There are between 50,000 and 100,000 multiple sclerosis sufferers in this country.

It is not known what causes the disease.

It affects the brain and spinal cord,

Hannoversche Allgemeine

attacking the covering sheath of nerve fibres, resulting in a temporary interruption of nervous impulses, particularly in pathways concerned with vision, sensation and the use of the limbs.

The sclerotic patches produced by the disease eventually result in permanent paralysis.

The Foundation, named after a French banker and his wife, was established in 1961, shortly before Hermann Schilling died.

dpa

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 12 May 1982)

Hospitals short of equipment — Siemens man

German hospitals have a shortage of equipment, including computer tomographs, says the head of Siemens medical technology department.

Dr F. Kuhrt says Germany has only 300 computer tomographs compared with 2,000 in the United States.

The cause was tight public sector budgets and a reluctance to invest.

Yet the cost ratio of medical technology relative to the overall cost of hospitals is low, at only 13 per cent and thus relatively low. And medical technology accounts for only four per cent of annual operating costs, says Dr Kuhrt.

Siemens has compensated for stagnating domestic sales by increased foreign business over the past few years.

Sales of medical equipment in the business year 1980/81 rose by 27 per cent to DM3bn.

This high growth rate last year is partly due to the acquisition by Siemens of the American nuclear medicine firm Searl.

Adjusted for inflation, the sales growth in the last business year was 20 per cent.

Siemens has a world market share of 19 per cent for medical technology, making it the world's biggest manufacturer of such equipment.

The company anticipates a growing demand for such equipment in the next few years with sales growing at an annual rate of three per cent adjusted for inflation. But most of the increase will be because of foreign orders.

Although the medical technology division of Siemens is one of the most profitable, earnings are declining.

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 12 May 1982)

■ EDUCATION

University not the only form of education society needs, warns Carstens

Kieler Nachrichten

People should not be judged only by what university degree they have, or do not have, President Karl Carstens told a meeting marking the 400th anniversary of Würzburg University.

Higher incomes and social position should not automatically depend on a university education. Other forms of training were equally valuable for society.

People should be judged on their performance at work and in day-to-day life.

The President urged the state finance ministers to give the universities a say in the cutbacks that have become necessary as a result of tight budgets.

He deplored the fact that vital university issues are no longer a subject of public discussion but that they are dealt with by specialists, to the detriment of research and teaching.

He urged the universities to seize the opportunity to instil a critical attitude towards the machinery of science and its consequences on future academics.

The president of the Standing Conference of West German University Rectors (WRK), Professor George Turner, emphatically rebutted an accusation levelled earlier in the month by Professor Ralf Dahrendorf, head of the London School of Economics, that German university education was ineffective and too expensive.

At the annual WRK conference in Constance in early May, Dahrendorf said that university education in Germany started too late, was too poorly structured, lasted too long and was too expensive compared with Britain and France.

Turner said that direct cost comparisons between widely differing university systems created the wrong impression that the performance of Germany universities was below par and uneconomical.

He conceded that it is more cost-efficient to educate students in shorter courses, as is done in Britain, the USA and Japan, and to offer in-depth courses to small groups of students only.

But such short university courses would be opposed not only by the business community and the civil service but also by the students themselves.

He urged the heads of government (both federal and state) to arrive at a decision on admissions policy.

He pointed to the contradiction between the demand for universities that would be open enough to accept the potential students resulting from the high birth rate years while at the same time paring university budgets. Professor Turner said that further cutbacks could not be tolerated.

Progress towards total regimentation of university admissions called for fundamental decisions that could not be left to individual finance ministers nor to the bureaucratic committees of the Central Admissions Office in Dortmund.

Bavaria's Education Minister, Professor Hans Maier, stressed that education is no passive process and that the educational system in our country is no "escalator to a reserved desk."

He pointed to the responsibility that goes with a free choice of occupation, employment and training facility.

Theodor Berchem, president of Würzburg University, urged politicians not to use financial cutbacks at universities as a means of reducing the number of students.

This would hit young people who had been raised with an attitude of heightened expectations and told that an academic education would provide them with material security and personal fulfilment.

"As long as the number of students flocking to university keeps rising we must not keep trying to economise on university spending."

dpa

(Kieler Nachrichten, 12 May 1982)

Mass unemployment among teachers predicted

One hundred thousand secondary schoolteachers could be out of work by the end of the decade, says the National Association of Schoolmasters.

It fears that the present freeze on hiring teachers plus the number of graduates coming on to the job market will push the jobless figure through the roof.

Association chairman Bernhard Fluck says there are now 7,000 unemployed secondary school teachers, double last autumn's figure.

He warns against more sweeping and ill-considered cutbacks, recommending fewer working hours for teachers and smaller classes.

Part-time work, voluntary early retirement, the employment of teachers who would stand in in case of a colleague's illness and a voluntary further education year with financial participation of the teacher concerned could create up to 50,000 posts — enough to at least contain the unemployment among highschool teachers until 1985.

dpa

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 12 May 1982)

■ LEISURE

A way with animals and a head for business

Carl Hagenbeck . . . others had doubts, but not him. (Photo: Interpress)

Hagenbeck's Zoo, the world's first to house animals in open-air enclosures, opened to the public 75 years ago in May 1907.

Carl Hagenbeck, founder of what is still a family firm, set up in business in Stellingen, then a village well outside Hamburg, with a licence from the Reich Patent Office to run a panorama.

It is anyone's guess what the licensing authority thought a panorama was going to be, but Hagenbeck knew exactly what he had in mind.

He was determined to run the first zoo with animals in open-air enclosures rather than cages and in living conditions as nearly as possible resembling those of their natural habitat.

He had spent years working with Urs Eggenschyler, a Swiss sculptor, to lay out a park into which the animals' enclosures naturally fitted.

His zoo was an immediate success, unlike two others that had failed to catch on in Hamburg, but the Hagenbecks always had a way with animals, coupled with a Hanseatic head for business.

In the 1840s Gottfried Hagenbeck ran a fish business from the heart of St Pauli. To attract custom he put on show in his shop window a seal one of his suppliers had brought along.

It was not long before half a dozen seals were gallivanting in washtubs, and when a fisherman returned from Greenland with a fully-grown polar bear, Hagenbeck happily took it.

He quickly hired a place nearby to house it and set up in business with his son Carl, who was then in his early 20s, as an animal dealer.

The trade flourished. Europe was in its colonial heyday and people were increasingly interested in other countries, peoples and their flora and fauna.

The Hagenbecks had the edge over their competition in two ways. They sent buyers all over the world and succeeded in delivering animals hale and hearty to their customers.

Most dealers had to make do with supplying stuffed animals. That was why the Hagenbecks soon became the main supplier to courts and circuses.

In the 1880s the Mahdi in Sudan cut off supplies of wild animals for several years. The Hagenbeck family launched out into the circus business on its own and proved enormously successful showmen.

Their idea was to exhibit the exotic animals alongside people from far-off countries in their traditional costumes and performing customary activities.

Eskimos, for instance, were shown in kayaks against a background of icebergs and Arctic animals, while Ceylonese held colourful elephant processions.

Ethiopians travelled to Europe and Hagenbeck's peoples of the world with all the pomp and circumstance of the Abyssinian court.

From having so much to do with animals some members of the Hagenbeck family made names for themselves as animal-tamers. At the 1893 world fair in Chicago the Hagenbecks put animals through their paces that were arch-enemies in nature.

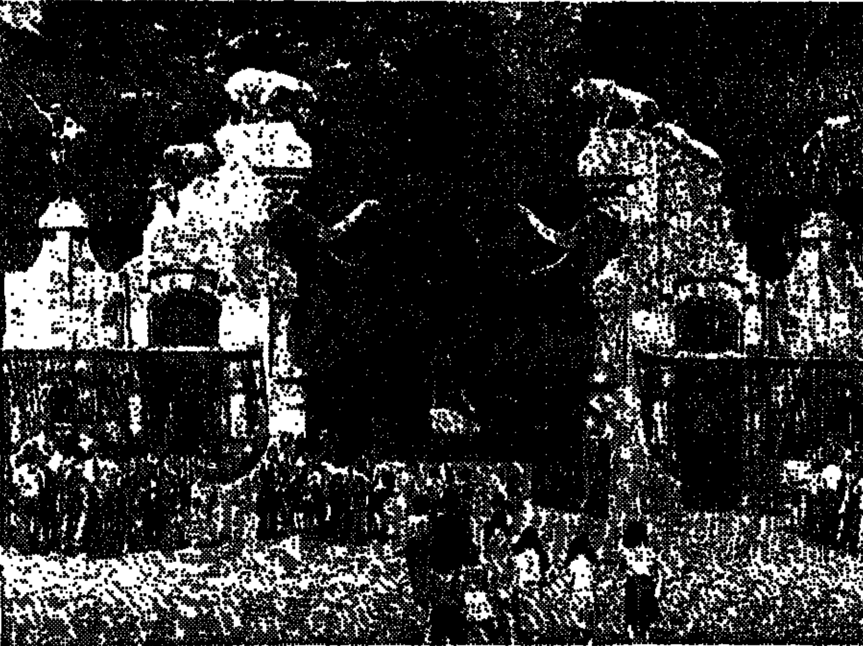
The climax of the show was a Roman chariot drawn by three lions that raced round the Big Top. The crowds came by the thousand.

The family's circus and zoo activities soon parted company, and at the zoo the Hagenbecks began to concentrate on species threatened with extinction in their natural habitat.

They also developed such skill at landscaping that Hagenbeck's was soon emulated by zoos all over the world. In Hamburg it was a hallmark of the city.

At the height of the 1923 inflation banknotes were printed in Hamburg with zoo motifs and the consoling thought that life would soon be back to normal at Hagenbeck's.

In 1943 eighty per cent of the enclosures and nearly 500 animals were put to fire in an air raid. After the Second World War the most valuable animals were almost sent packing in lieu of reparations payments by the British military government. But the keepers had a few ideas up their sleeves. They sprayed the cages with smells that spelt danger to the animals or smelt so bad that they just would not go into them. Other animals that were due to be shipped away were trained to create such an uproar that the freight agents refused to handle them, saying they were a danger to life and limb. In the end, Hagenbeck's agreed to loan the animals to British zoos for three years. There they were looked after until their return, while children collected chestnuts and acorns by the ton to feed the animals that stayed in Hamburg.



Day out for both young and old at Hagenbeck's Zoo. (Photo: Tierpark Hagenbeck)

The zoo now covers 25 hectares, or over 60 acres, and has 2,500 animals, including such rarities as Indian rhinos, onagers, wild donkeys and killer whales.

Since the war Hamburg has done what Carl Hagenbeck long dreamed of and built an underground railway out to the zoo.

Antje the walrus is an interlude star on *Norddeutscher Rundfunk* TV. She is a gesture of friendship to the zoo's founder by the local broadcasting corporation.

Hagenbeck had a soft spot for walruses. He even had Lovis Corinth paint his portrait alongside one. The painting can be seen to this day in Hamburg's *Kunsthalle*.

Franz Fegeler

(Nordwest Zeitung, 7 May 1982)

New Hamburg town hall square and the election connection

Hamburg's refurbished *Rathausmarkt*, or town hall square, a controversial project for years, has finally been opened, complete with its monument to Heinrich Heine.

Heine, the 19th century Romantic poet and social critic, spent six years in the city, where his uncle Salomon was a wealthy banker.

The *Rathausmarkt* was inaugurated in a pre-election flurry a month before the elections to the city council.

Hamburg's new-look Rathausmarkt . . . not everybody is enthusiastic. (Photo: Gabriele Hochheim)

On a bright and sunny day the people of Hamburg and their guests flocked to see the new-look square, clad in pink granite that belied its critics.

The critics, who slated the project as too expensive, dubbed it Klose's Red Square, a reference to Hans-Ulrich Klose, the city's former left-wing Social Democratic mayor.

Right-wing politicians and reporters who are not otherwise opposed to the idea of a showcase suddenly came up with endless ideas on how the money could be put to better use.

It could be spent on the unemployed, on children and old people. How much was it? Even that varied from commentator to commentator.

Herr Klose and his planning staff came in for criticism as though Social Democrats had no business worrying about the city's appearance and as though Hamburg's *Rathausmarkt* was a credit to the city and not one of the dullest in Germany.

Now all is over, the square looks a treat, although the steel-framed conservatory-like enclosures may not exactly match the neo-gothic *Rathaus*.

To claim, as *Welt am Sonntag* did, that the project gave Hamburg an air of courtly grandeur was to forget the architectural harmony of such self-respecting Italian city-states as Siena, Arezzo and Perugia.

Stuttgart's Christian Democratic mayor Manfred Rommel, in Hamburg electioneering for the CDU, said burgomasters should steer a wide berth of building squares and setting up monuments.

The Social Democrats have done both. We shall see on election day whether they retain control of Hamburg's *Rathaus* overlooking the new-look square that not even critics can still accuse of being red.

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 16 May 1982)